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THE FORTNIGHTLY

JANUARY, 1948

CAN BRITAIN RECOVER ?

BY LORD PERRY

TOO few people realize that Britain's financial plight is not wholly the result of the 1939-1945 war. Long before Hitler disrupted world economy by striking at Poland, there were many signs that Great Britain had entered a phase in her commercial history far less satisfactory than that of the prosperous late Victorian and Edwardian years. There was a steady decline in her command of both the visible and invisible export markets. New and formidable rivals were making great headway in Britain's most cherished and characteristic industries. Japan and Italy had emerged as rivals in ship building. The cotton trade was no longer a Lancashire monopoly. Increased transport facilities and new forms of power had changed the old topographical advantages once possessed by the British Isles. The rapid rise of German and American industrial output in the first thirty years of this century, the disturbance caused to the old flow of trade by Russia's changed status amongst the nations and the steady imitative progress of Japan were all factors causing concern to anyone observing the comparative trends of international trade. Even the seizure and exploitation by the new Russian Government of oil and gold deposits was beginning to have a palpable effect before the late war was launched.

The general pre-war picture was of a Britain whose trading advantages were visibly diminishing, whilst competitors were creating and enjoying counter advantages of their own. It was in such a developing situation that certain palliatives were applied. Free imports were abandoned ; looms and shipyards were ' scrapped '.

Such was the extraordinary reserve of strength in the nation that, even after the sacrifices of the 1914-1918 war, the loss of young manpower and the neglect of peacetime industrial modernization and re-equipment, Britain emerged from the world crisis of 1929-1934 far less apparently shaken than any other nation. Bad as were the opening years of the 1930's in these islands, we saw nothing comparable to the utter breakdown of the banking and fiscal system which confronted Franklin Roosevelt on the very morning of his first inauguration. Resistance to that world economic blizzard was such that the British Empire and Dominions were able to meet the first devastating blasts of the 1939-1945 war and to stand alone in a war shattered world, and to emerge again victorious.

These events are the commonplaces of memory and history, but they must be kept vividly in mind when an attempt is made to assess Britain's

chances and means of recovery from the *débâcle* which politicians hav christened " the present crisis ".

An outstanding sign of Britain's changed status in the world is th familiar one that we have ceased to be a great creditor nation and hav become a great debtor nation. Changes in currency values make an comparison of figures misleading. It must be noted, however, that on day to-day presentation of Britain's trading position she has been for lon years a trading debtor, in the sense that her intake of necessary goods fro abroad, including the vital necessity of raw materials and food, far exceede countervailing exports of goods, but the excess debts were paid by suc invisibles as dividend and interest on foreign investments and fees fc services, marine insurance and the like.

Even in the 1930's it was obvious that a continuous decline or a sudde interruption of such " invisibles " would present Britain with a tragi problem. Her awkwardly positioned industrial populations, which th islands themselves could not support, might starve. A failure in the fisc system might make her impotent to resist foreign aggression.

As we know, the sudden interruption came in September 1939, and wa the worst possible kind of interruption, for it was a war in which we wer the first and chief belligerent. To sustain that war Britain had perforce t sell or pawn overseas investments. Shipping, banking and assuranc services were no longer earners of foreign exchange. What was equall bad, overseas markets had to be allowed to drift into the hands of foreig trading competitors. During the progress of the war our industrial plan and processes were transferred from their true vocations : what moderniz tion was possible was applied to war uses. In many industries there was seven year lack of new entrants. The older skilled generations of operative were growing towards the time of retirement : the generations whic would normally have replaced them were in the fighting forces or diverte to other industries.

Such was the dramatic interruption to the flow of Britain's visible an invisible trade which occurred in 1939, and which augmented, but did nc cause, many of the problems for which the nation is now trying to fin adequate solution.

It has also to be remembered, though it is now very often overlooke that even before hostilities began, the totalitarian States had affected worl trading technique to Great Britain's detriment, by their attempts to reac autarchy and their re-introduction of primitive barter into moder commercial economy. Germany had also as strongly affected world trac by restless pursuit and successful exploitation of *ersatz* substitutes, whic were a necessary part of the search for autarchy.

Pari passu with this process of change in both the methods and materia of world trade went the decline in what one may call Britain's comparativ energy. It was possible for a commentator in 1938 to write :

> The future of the world demand for coal is hotly debated between economists a

industrialists. Whatever the future of world coal demand, the demand for British coal is precarious. . . . There is no comfort in the suggestion that German coal exports make headway because German coal is helped by a bounty, which cannot go on for ever. The real bounty to German coal exports is that German miners turn out forty per cent. more coal per man at twenty-five per cent. less cost than the British miner.

was also possible in 1937 for the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade rganizations to declare : " Lancashire cannot afford to export at a loss definitely." This brief reminder of Britain's immediate pre-war position necessary because the problem before us is not, as some politicians have id, that of getting back to 1938 standards. If by some politico-economic iracle a return to the 1938 position were achieved, we should still be facing ie same grim question—can Britain recover ?

In preparing to assess Britain's hopes of recovery, and to discuss the eans towards it, we are faced with a grim, stark situation, known only too ell to many of us. Our country is internationally bankrupt, carrying a eavy debt in the shape of sterling liabilities held against us and dollar debtedness which cannot be paid in money. If these debts were forgiven, drastically scaled down, we must still face the fact that our necessary rchases from overseas—requirements necessary to bare survival for most our population—amount to more per diem than our saleable exportable ods can pay for. In addition to this, many of those necessary purchases ve to come from particular countries, the ' hard currency ' countries in hich British exportable goods are unsaleable. To cover our daily bill for od and raw materials, by which alone we can exist, it is not sufficient to hieve the production of an increased volume of goods for sale abroad ; it necessary that we should be able to sell to a select group of overseas stomers in the dollar area. To this end, Great Britain has to contrive to aintain an interim inflow of food and raw materials while she organizes er industry in such a way that it can lower its costs, meet possible markets design and quality, re-train her skilled labour force in both old and new roducts, and, by her diplomacy, help to nurse back to economic health ose components of the trading world which have either been shattered by tual war—as Germany—or have been crippled in their trading activities y power politics or the rise of disruptive internal sectionalism, as with ie ' client ' states of Russia.

It may be said immediately that Britain's basic asset for this struggle is nimpaired. That basic asset is the skill, ingenuity and tenacity of our eople. Given the will to work—that is, given a removal of those false octrines and artificial and restrictive practices which diminish the workers' nergy, both physically and psychologically—the British worker of every rade, from the operative to the management, is able to bear comparison ith any worker in the world. In the faculty of inventiveness and in ptitude for salesmanship, there is no reason to suppose that the British ave lost any of their old quality. If they are not displaying it, the reason not biological degeneration, but it may well be political frustration.

It should be realized, however, that even if all frustrations were removed and the political factor instead of being a hindrance were transformed to help, the immediate, the interim problem is no nearer to solution. The immediate problem is how to keep going until long term factors are enable to operate successfully and efficiently. If complete national autarchy wer possible, which it is not in these islands, or if Imperial self-sufficiency wer possible, as it well may be, such a re-organization would take time, an " time is of the essence ". As His Majesty's Ministers have recentl freely confessed, their immediate preoccupation is buying time. The shor truth is that, whether we like it or not, some new form of dollar aid i essential. Fortunately, it is as essential to the United States as it is to u that Great Britain shall survive as a fundamental part of world economy The granting of dollar aid, whether under a Marshall Plan or some other will not be the exercise merely of philanthropy, but of self-preservation. I a normal pre-war year Britain took within the neighbourhood of £120,000,00 of merchandise (at old values) from the United States. Her general valu to the American economy is thus immense. Her special value to certai states, the tobacco and cotton states in particular, transcends that of an other customer.

It is argued that Britain's best plan at such a time would be to face an rigours and endurances rather than to take a further loan. Sentimentall there is everything to be said for this Spartan course. Practically, however it would teem with danger. The further dislocation of our industry, a increased diminution of food rations for a population already debilitated, th resentment at further deprivations by masses of men and women unable eve yet to grasp the root necessity for their suffering, might lead to a progressiv weakening of the national power to recover, and might even lead to socia disruption.

The diplomatic necessity, if and when further dollar aid is available as an interim salvation, will be to ensure that no new loan shall impos conditions similar to those attached to the loan now exhausted. Ther should be no further recourse to dollars whose purchasing power can fa or be driven down so swiftly that a moiety of the purchasing power is los before the loan is fully applied. There should be no further consent to relinquishment of sovereignty over our trade relations within the Britis Commonwealth or over our own currency. Beggars, it may be said, canno be choosers, but, under the duress of circumstances, a further dollar loa will, of necessity, be from a lender as desirous to lend as the recipient i willing to borrow.

It is also argued that such further aid will only be a staving off of the ev day. Admittedly, it will be a staving off : that is the only purpose of th loan. But it should be a staving off until the day when Britain will, und proper and experienced leadership, earn her own living. To-day sh cannot, but at a day not too far removed she may hope to do so.

The mistakes made about the original loan are not encouraging.

is hastily negotiated. It was made in dollars whose purchasing power was t protected. It was applied to purchases which could have been better ected. It tied Britain to certain international agreements which mpered her capacity to put her own Imperial house in order. The effects the non-convertibility clause were woefully misconstrued by those who ould have known better. The breathing space which it gave was grossly isused. These are errors, however, from which we should have learnt sdom to avoid in future.

The first alternatives, then, are these ; either there is new aid, and it is ed to give time for re-organization and recovery of lost export markets ; there is no aid, and the Government will have to apply all the tyrannical wers it has taken to dragoon the nation into acquiescence with extreme privation, perhaps even starvation for parts of the population, and the tion itself will have to ' muddle through ' the struggle back to prosperity ysically debilitated and psychologically depressed. Of these alternatives, e first, unpleasant as it may be, seems to be the better.

It being assumed that time has thus been purchased, can Britain, and at hat cost, recover ? To that question a dogmatic answer can be given. ie *can* recover, but only by the hardest and most sustained of efforts ; she n only recover if the most drastic changes are made in her political, onomic and fiscal systems. At the best, the struggle will be desperate, and ill demand full national unity and unremitting toil and sacrifice from all asses of the community.

The clue to recovery is in the word cost. It is a potent word, whose nplications are rarely fully realized. Costs are not governed only by the ore obvious factors ; they are affected by things other than a skilful and conomic purchase of materials, an economic hiring of labour, a skilful and conomic management and the achievement of a large turn-over. All these e vital to low costs, but there are other factors, including, first and fore- ost, the burden placed on production and distribution by taxation and the her demands of the State, particularly the expense entailed by meeting or isputing or legally evading whatever delays, interruptions or distractions e imposed either by government itself or by organized bodies seeking to terfere with industry. To guard against misrepresentation, let it be said once that the conscience of humanity has agreed that certain impositions all be placed upon industry, both by the State and organized bodies enjoy- ng legal sanction, for the protection of humanity against social injustices. he great slur on the early nineteenth century was that it achieved sectional rosperity, and the entry into world markets, by the virtual torture of women nd children and a gross cruelty to other sections of the community. It was ontent, also, to wax rich by such activities as the opium traffic. To prevent uch practices and outrages, certain restrictive fiats must be obeyed, what- ver their effect upon the interior economy of industry. None of us would ave it differently. It is agreed by all that even if slave States of a lower andard of morality compete with us to our hurt, we shall not degrade

humanity to their level. It is arrant nonsense, therefore, to infer that, when removal of restraints, restrictions and hindrances are suggested, any return to the old brutal and thoughtless days of the Industrial Revolution is intended.

There is an old adage which declares that one should never swap horses when crossing a stream. In granting previous loans America—both the United States and Canada—furnished us with assistance which could have been used to cross the distressing stream of waste and dislocation which had flooded Britain. Instead of using this horse in the manner for which it had been trained, we have been foolish enough to attempt to re-harness it, to replace its accoutrements and substitute a technique of which we have no adequate experience or knowledge.

Surely the nation's present extremity is not an opportune time for making experiments, but rather for a proper use of past experience.

Anything which adds to costs hampers the expansion of exports. Anything which impairs industrial efficiency adds to costs. The expansion of exports and foreign investments is the key to recovery. Set out as a trio of axioms, those three indisputables furnish the first broad answer to our problem. The burden of an inflated bureaucracy and an outmoded system of taxation is an unnecessary, cumbersome, irritating and unremunerative addition to cost.

The imposition upon the British people of a bureaucratic system, in place of the age-old system of private enterprise which made the country great, was largely made possible by the hypnotic effect upon untutored minds of the phrase ' a planned society'. Those who advocated a change of system were cunning enough to imply by that phrase that in the past our society had been unplanned. The truth was, and is, that society has always been planned. Had it not been planned, it would not have been a society, but a mere barbaric rabble. The modern phrase ' a planned society ' means to-day that social and industrial effort shall be controlled and planned from the centre, planned by a mythical entity called the State and actually controlled by a junta of politicians and bureaucrats. The phrase ' private enterprise ' really meant a society wherein each activity was planned by these actually conducting it—fuel planned by men engaged in the production and distribution of fuel, transport planned by men conducting transport, clothing planned by clothiers and housing by builders. In a word, bureaucracy is centralization, free enterprise is decentralization, not by locality but by function.

Extreme centralization is cumbersome, costly and inefficient ; it involves loss of time, tardiness in decision ; it means decisions taken on transmitted instead of personal knowledge. It also means the addition to the processes of industry of numbers of non-production functionaries, whose job it is to see not that industry works properly, but that a particular system is worked properly—a very different thing. Without any guarantee that the centralized system is any better, in any way, than the system it has

:placed, industry is immediately saddled with the costs in time and money f these extra ' passengers ' whose only possible contribution to the joint fort is delay !

In industry and the conduct of export trade one of the first essentials) success is to be a little ahead of the competitive rival in both purchase ıd sale. In competition for stocks of raw material, to buy quickly is as nportant as to buy cheaply. Almost as important is the capacity without elay to replace a missed market by some other. At the selling end it is as nportant to be able to offer and deliver quickly as to sell at standards of uality and price which suit the buyer. Under a system of free enterprise ıis is possible : under collectivism it is impossible. Buyers and sellers annot operate quickly and economically if they are hampered by the need) wait for the decisions of politicians and their advisers, transmitted in the ɔrm of complicated orders and directions drafted by persons untrained ı the industrial and commercial processes into which they have trespassed.

Bulk purchase of raw materials, with centralized allocation, must of its ature be slower and dearer than purchase by skilled and mobile buyers cting directly for the purchaser-user. Paradoxically, it must be more ncertain. The entry into a world market of a governmental bulk-urchaser is the signal for a concerted rigging of the market against him. Ie must buy, whereas the individual vendors need not sell to him. They an form a ring against him, they can sell to another buyer and hope to enefit in some way from the second price thus obtained, they can, in ommon market parlance, do what they like with him. His purchase, nce made at a forced and false price, has then to be allocated at the will or vhim of a State Department. It will be so allocated not by the needs of he enterprises waiting for the material, but by either the dictates of some aper ' plan ' or the tactical requirements of some politico-economic olicy. In any event, its delivery will be delayed, and time lost to the 3ritish user will be utilized by competitors.

Amongst the extra costs imposed by a bureaucracy in its rigid control f the materials for industry are those arising from staff charges to provide he personnel to cope with the bureaucrats' lust for statistical and other nformation. Just on behalf of the Chancellor of the Exchequer all big nterprises have to support a small staff to perform the duties of honorary ax gatherers for Inland Revenue in the collection of income tax under ?.A.Y.E., so they have to maintain clerical staff to cope with the innumer-ble and often changing forms without the filling and rendering of which hey are not permitted to produce at all. Trivial as each of these unneces-arily extended transactions may seem, in their totality they represent a ostly delay in our industrial processes which helps to thwart the successful e-entry into, and retention of, competitive export markets.

Flexibility and fluidity in the purchase and conversion of raw material nd in the sale of the subsequent product had its counterpart in the ngagement of labour until trade unions resorted to what are admitted, on

all hands, to be ' restrictive practices '. For those restrictive practices in the beginning there was a necessity and justification, but they are developed recently to an extent where the original purpose and justification are forgotten or ignored. Practices adopted to prevent the conscienceless exploitation of unprotected pockets of ' labour ' are now a closed shop for sectional vested interests. The Labour politician was accustomed to maintain that the sincerest wish of the employers' hearts was to keep a pool of perpetually unemployed workers, which would ensure the taking of work at cut and sweated rates. Whether that was ever so may be argued, but it is certain that in the twentieth century what the average employer wants is not cheap or sweated labour, but competent workers to whom he is glad to give as much as they might care to earn. What is equally certain now is that if Britain is to recover she will be in such need of workers that they will for a long time enjoy, so to speak, a sellers' market. Prosperity in the process of its recovery will imply a shortage, not a surplus, of labour, both skilled and unskilled. The restrictive practices of the unions have begun to operate now against the interests of the trade unionists who still apply them. ' Ca'canny ', which may or may not have been an assurance that what work there was would be shared, is now only a means of keeping all workers out of an otherwise attainable increase in the standard of living.

One of the most curious examples of a changed effect of a trade union practice is to be found in the payment of overtime. When the practice of paying overtime was introduced the reason for it was clear. It was to prevent an employer from working his labour force too long while other workers needed employment. To discourage him from so doing the unions said in effect : ' If you must work your staff longer hours than those agreed as fair and just, then you shall pay more for the fatigued labour than you pay for the fresh and vigorous labour of the normal working day. This may, at least, persuade you instead to bring in other and unfatigued workers.' What has since happened, with the hearty connivance of the unions themselves, is that overtime is regarded as a kind of legitimate perquisite of the worker. So abused has it become that examples have been frequent of men absenting themselves on a week day, but working on Sundays or other days when, by agreement, overtime rates are paid. To put it at its simplest, and ignoring any abuse of the system, it may be said that overtime, which was instituted as a deterrent to long hours, has changed into a demand by the worker to work long hours. If Britain is to recover it is surely necessary that all similar practices should be reviewed and overhauled in the light of labour's actual working circumstances to-day : all restrictions which owed their origin to conditions which have long disappeared should be ruthlessly rescinded.

If it is admittedly desirable to reconsider and rescind certain trade union practices it becomes abundantly necessary to examine governmental restrictive practices, whether recent and by ' orders and regulations ' or old

d by Statute. Trade unions, let it not be forgotten, are an integral part a free enterprise system. They have no legitimate place in a collectivist ate. Socialism is the political antithesis of trade unionism. Employers d trade unionists together would have no difficulty in reaching an ıicable agreement as to what restrictive practices, whether of the State of the unions, are still the necessary protection of the worker, and what are w but outmoded hindrances to industrial vigour and general restoration. ost certainly, at a time when labour shortage is such that men and women ve to be State directed, restrictions devised in fear of dilution of labour palpably unjustified, and, if not abolished, should be suspended.

If a *sine qua non* of Britain's recovery is a reversal or suspension of the ocess of nationalization and collectivism and all other forms of centraliza- ın, equally necessary is a drastic reform of the system and technique of xation. If Sir Stafford Cripps desires to detect barriers in the way of port expansion, he need look no further than the Treasury. A faulty stem of taxation is extremely harmful to industry: it raises costs by llecting revenue by uneconomical methods.

Our existing method of assessing and extracting tax is not a system at all. is a veritable patch-work quilt of accumulated expedients. The kinds imposts levied, and the varied and conflicting means of levying them, ve never been reviewed from the point of view that all taxation ultimately lls upon industry. Since the days of the younger Pitt, the fabric of xation, in both its assessment and collection aspects, has been added to by ıancellors caught by unexpected expenditure demands. The Budget as once a means whereby the Commons supplied, after careful scrutiny, e monetary needs of the Crown. It is now used as a means to extract ɔm the people whatever the State, led by an inexperienced doctrinaire abinet, supported by a subsidized Commons, may think necessary to ɔscure financial ineptitude or institute Utopian ideologies. No sooner ıd Mr. Gladstone finished using the Budget as a means to implement e free imports policy of Peel, than his successors in Whitehall continued s use as a means of changing social relations and redistributing the ıtional wealth. These usages, as affected by the chronic interruptions war costs or unforeseen economic crises, have resulted in a hotch-potch imposts, some collected in one way, some in another, some assessed this ay and others assessed that way, but none devised or reformed to comply ith the historic tests of sound taxation. Those rules, as Adam Smith gave ıem, are familiar. Subjects of the State ought to contribute towards the ıpport of the government as nearly as possible according to their means. axation should be levied at the time and in the way most likely to be ɔnvenient to the taxpayer. Every tax ought to be so contrived that it kes from the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above hat it brings into the Treasury. Under our present hotch-potch all these ıles are flouted in one way or another.

The first obligation of the State, as of the community, is to ensure that

industry is given every possible help, positive and negative, to recover its old vigour and to compete in world markets with competitors now enjoying the advantages which we have lost. That being so, in framing taxation our first care must be not to levy any impost—if it can possibly be avoided—which may harass or hamper that recovery. Equally important, we should ensure that any impost levied is simple in its conception, in its method of assessment, and in its methods of collection. As the vital aim is to bring industry, which must eventually pay all taxes, back to a full capacity, we should, if only for a time, ignore any use of taxation as a means of redressing social inequalities or pleasing excited voters at the polls. The sole aim must be to devise a simple means of extracting from the populace an economically collected contribution towards the unavoidable expenditures of the State. Instead of this approach, we tolerate, to our grave injury, the persistence in taxes originally levied from all manner of expedient motives. There is, as all men of business will confirm, no enterprise which has not to spend its time and money in careful calculations, scrutinies and confirmation of what does and what does not ' rank for tax ', and in arguments with tax-paid officials on the result. There is no enterprise which has not to employ experts and assistants to help the professional tax collectors to assess the workers and then to collect and transmit their taxes. There is no enterprise which can even hazard a guess as to what tax liability will be—what will be challenged and what not—from period to period.

The present method of collecting purchase tax, excise duties and customs levies increases the cost of living by many millions of pounds sterling per annum. Anticipated revenue in the Budget for the current year is £1,316,790,000, all of which is collected from the taxpayer by attaching the levy to the wholesale price of the commodity involved. The price to the consumer is thereby increased by the sum of the distributor's profit on the tax. If it be assumed that a tradesman is content with ten per cent. gross profit on turnover (and it is only the big multiple shops in urban districts who can survive on so narrow a margin), it is immediately obvious that the sum of taxes paid by the consumer of £131,679,000 more than is received by the Exchequer. An annual wastage equivalent to £4 7s. 0d. per head of a working population of 30,000,000.

We seem, indeed, to have developed a genius for devising and levying new taxes in the most expensive and uncertain ways. If it be granted that some system of pay-as-you-earn was necessary, as the Treasury could not cope with defaulters under any other system once the tax net swept in masses of weekly wage drawers, can it be maintained that the system adopted was not the worst imaginable? It duplicated the functionaries at the Treasury with opposite numbers in the pay offices of businesses ; it involved all manner of unnecessary calculations as to what any one tax-payer's code number must be, and how and when it was to be altered ; and it caused a complete change of attitude towards wages and salaries

every worker, thereby producing industrial restlessness and law-breaking. Similarly, when a purchase tax was decided upon, instead of adopting e simple method already tried and tested in other countries, where the x is levied over the counter at the level of the ultimate purchaser, we vised a tortuous scheme whereby the tax was applied to the wholesale vel, which not only necessitated the creation of a horde of mythical vholesalers ' who do not exist, but which made any adjustment of that x so fraught with complexities and injustices as to become a fiscal nightare and a social danger. Incidentally, the tax was so framed and applied at it remains a deterrent to industry. Buyers very naturally now postne purchases of heavily taxed goods in the hope—probably groundless—at sooner rather than later the tax will be modified or removed. While w production is thus retarded, the second-hand market and the black arket flourish. But, in the meantime, the manufacturer is deterred from perimenting with new models and new processes, and is forced back o a state of uncertainty and anxiety. Unless, and until, the whole ocess of assessing and levying taxation is reformed, British industry will ntinue heavily handicapped, and the hope of eventually securing fficient overseas trade to pay for our necessary imports will be thwarted. From even so superficial and sketchy a survey as is possible in an article this nature will be seen that my personal answer to the question " Can itain Recover ? " is that Britain, by an enormous and protracted effort, n recover, but that she will not recover unless there are lifted from itish industry those burdens which now make such an effort physically d pyschologically impossible. Unless the present administration, or its ccessor, examines scrupulously every existing regulation and order and venue impost, and removes or changes all those whose effect is to retard dustrial progress or diminish industrial *morale*, whether in the workers management, Britain cannot hope to regain an entry into lost markets to extend her command of those where she has preserved or already found footing. Unless the attempt to increase the general productivity of ese islands, both in agriculture and manufacture, and to weld the mperial connection into a closer economic unity, is successful, and unless e can bring the whole of our people to a common realization that uabbles on political dogmas or ideological differences are suicidal straction, there can be no recovery. There can only be an accelerated cline into that complete insolvency which will be the economic prelude a political helotry.

PARTITION IN PALESTINE

By Owen Tweedy

PALESTINE remains in the news, as she has been off and on since the days of Sennacherib the Assyrian, not only as the distraught home of the three great monotheistic religions of the world; but also unhappily as the age-long cockpit of the Middle East. In one particular respect this persistent publicity has produced a distorted impression in the public mind. Everyone's Bible and atlas have a map of Palestine in them and it is thus one of the best known maps in the world. But in the atlases Palestine is almost always given a full page—just as the great powers each have a page of their own. Again, one of the best known clichés about Palestine's size is the phrase " from Dan even unto Beersheba ", which custom links with other similar phrases such as " China to Peru " and " Land's End to John o' Groats ".

Of course, though everyone knows that Palestine is smaller than her atlas neighbours—France, Italy, Russia, the United States—how many realize how much smaller ? How many visualize that Palestine is only the same size as Wales, or as the State of Vermont which is one of the smallest of the forty-nine United States of America ? And how many appreciate, too, that " from Dan even unto Beersheba " is a matter of only one hundred and fifty miles—or about the same distance as from London to Shrewsbury or Doncaster—and that the maximum width of Palestine, as from London to Margate, is nowhere more than seventy miles.

The partition of this Lilliputian country has now been approved by the United Nations. It is to be divided into no less than six isolated segments, three of which will constitute an Independent Jewish Sovereign State, the remaining three a similar Arab State. In addition there will be two special enclaves. The Jerusalem enclave will be smaller than the county of Rutland and will be administered and controlled by an International Commission, and the Jaffa enclave in the central Jewish zone with an area of about the size of Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens will constitute a dependency of the Arab Sovereign State.

The three Jewish zones can be conveniently though ominously described in quasi-military terms. The central zone is a beach-head along the Mediterranean with a depth inland averaging about fifteen miles and a coastal length of about a hundred miles including Haifa and Tel Aviv. The northern zone is an outpost centred round Tiberias, with frontiers abutting on two of the Arab Palestinian zones and, to the north and east,

on Syria and Transjordan. The southern zone is another outpost and includes most of the Negef Desert south of Beersheba town. It abuts on Transjordan and Egypt.

The three Arab zones fill in the rest of the patchwork. The northern area around Acre abuts on the Lebanon; the central, which includes Nablus and Hebron, has a common frontier with Transjordan; the southern, along the Mediterranean around Gaza, meets Egypt along her Sinai boundary.

The enforcement and organization of this intricate plan has been entrusted to a special Palestine Commission responsible to the Security Council of the United Nations Assembly. It is to take over from the British Mandatory and later to hand its interim responsibilities to the respective Jewish and Arab States when they come into existence. The British evacuation of the country is to be completed by August 1, 1948, and until then British Forces will continue to be responsible for the maintenance of law and order throughout the country.

This segmentation of this minute country is due to politics; and the unhappy need for the uneasy segregation of the two communities will provide the United Nations and its new Commission with two particular problems which will severely tax their energy, wisdom and patience.

The first problem concerns frontiers and their control. The three zones of each State meet only corner-wise like the diagonal squares on a chessboard. As a result each zone—Arab and Jewish—has four frontiers. This, in terms of defence and control, means that not only have both States a total length of frontier to protect two-thirds as long as if they were compact contiguous territories, but also that there are only cross-road communications between one Jewish zone and another and between one Arab zone and another. The three zones of the Arab State have common friendly frontiers with the Lebanon, Transjordan and Egypt. But they have no territorial access to a proper port. For Acre and Gaza are only sheltered roadsteads and Jaffa is buried in the Jewish coastal zone. The Jewish lay-out is even more awkward. The shallow beach-head on the Mediterranean has three Palestine Arab frontiers to watch, and the two outposts will have additional Arab neighbours in Syria, Transjordan and Egypt, all of whom are openly hostile to the creation of the Jewish State. And for the long-suffering travelling public of neither Arab nor Jewish nationality, after Partition no less than four separate permits or visas will be required—for instance—for the simple journey from Cairo to Jerusalem either by road or rail.

The second problem concerns the minorities in the two States. The cardinal facts of their dilemma can be stated bluntly. Moslem Law will be enforced in the Arab State; in the Jewish State it will be a blend of Talmudic and Socialist law. And each State will have a constitution of its own. Again, the minorities in both States—but more particularly the much larger Arab minority in the Jewish State—are mainly vested land-

proprietors : villagers and settlement dwellers. Both are individualistic by nature. Both have deep ties in the land they own. Both will be fearful of the new order of things. And both correspond in a sense with that category of irredentist populations which, throughout history down to the days of the Sudeten Germans, have been sources of friction.

The leaders of the Jewish Agency have declared their preparedness to set up the new Jewish State, and no one need doubt that this is so. But their enthusiasm and their capacity for organization are going to be additionally tested to the full by their own domestic Jewish community problems. Their main preoccupation will be financial. The original ideal of Zionism was the " close settlement of Jewish immigrants on the land." Vast financial support for this settlement policy came from charitable Jewish donations mainly subscribed in South Africa and America. But latterly—and particularly during the last twelve years—there has been a swing from the original ideals of the movement ; and since the great influx of immigrants from Germany between 1933 and 1936, great Jewish industrial developments have been set afoot with the implied policy that Jewry in Palestine was aiming at becoming the industrial emporium of the Middle East. The result has been a great population drift to the towns. During the war these new Palestine industries worked for the Allies and prospered ; but since 1945 this war market has ended and in addition the boycott of Zionist goods by the Arab Middle East has not been ineffective. The outcome has been a slump and unemployment in the towns, the dangers of which are financial collapse and a serious lowering of Jewish standards of living. Funds still arrive generously from abroad and financial support for the new Jewish State in its teething days will certainly continue to be lavish from America and South Africa in particular. But the industrial prosperity of the country depends on the supply of raw materials, of which Palestine and certainly Jewish Palestine is painfully short. Into the bargain, even given raw materials, Jewish industry in Palestine, if it is to survive, needs the Arab market in the Middle East where alone it has a chance of competing successfully with imported goods from Europe, America and the East. That Arab market will be denied until friendly relations are established with the Arab League.

Next, there is the immigration problem of the new Jewish State. Obviously the gates of Palestine will have to be opened ; for sentimentally there can be no longer any restrictions on the lines of " absorptive capacity ". Again, with an eye to political bargaining in the future, Jewish immigration will certainly be encouraged in such numbers as will bring the Jewish population in size up to or above that of the Arab population in the new Arab State. But how can these new immigrants be supported ? Where will the work for them be found ? Where, other than from charity, will the funds come from to maintain those who fail to find employment ? In fact, will this new immigrant influx increase unemployment and thus imperil the present high standards of Jewish

ring in Palestine ?

One other disturbing fact must also be mentioned in this connection. concerns the Jewish orange industry. It has recently been officially nounced that the sweet water supplies in the coastal plain have shown oradic signs of exhaustion from over-exploitation for the irrigation the groves. This is a fact of nature which, like unemployment and the aintenance of Jewish standards of living, will be the responsibility the new Jewish Government to tackle.

Finally there is the high problem of the possible reaction of the existing cal Jewish population in Palestine to the present and future conditions economic depression and violence and the consequent lowering of the andards of living and security. Similar economic conditions in 1927 sulted in Jewish emigration from Palestine exceeding the immigration gure by over 2,000 persons. This isolated incident of the past should ot be given exaggerated importance. Nevertheless, for the last year or ore there has been talk—to some extent substantiated by fact—of a nsiderable increase in the demand for visas to America and this country well-to-do Jews who now wish to leave Palestine for good. What eir numbers are, no one knows. But it is known that in view of the rgaining asset of the maintenance of the Jewish population in Palestine, e authorities which control the Jewish community—and their control drastic—place every objection in the way of those who now wish to ek a new life outside Palestine.

The policy of the Arabs, in all the stages leading up to the General ssembly's final vote, had been negative until they produced their eventh-hour offer to accept a federalized government for Palestine. ith its rejection by the American and Russian delegates and the sub-quent adoption of Partition, they withdrew into blank opposition. Thus e United Nations Commission cannot expect any constructive Arab -operation over the next six months, which we must regretfully anticipate ill be marred by Arab-Jewish violence and bloodshed.

In this test of strength the Jews are relying on the superior organization their resistance and their main agent will be the redoubtable and well-sciplined Hagana, which will now become the Jewish defence force. ut its responsibilities are wide and the protection of the scattered and ten isolated Jewish colonies as well as the maintenance of communications rough a difficult and hostile countryside, will severely dissipate its ailable manpower. Behind the physical military force of the Hagana, ere are two psychological factors on which Jewish hopes of success are evitably relying.

The first is bribery. I will quote from a recent conversation with a stinguished Jewish friend of long experience in the Middle East. " The w," he said, " knows that every Arab has his price ; and," he added to ove his point, " I'm told that already there are Jewish arms dumps in e Lebanon, Sinai and Transjordan which are actually looked after by

Arab Sheikhs in Jewish pay. They were put there to escape the British Army's searches in Palestine." What truth there is in such assertions is open to doubt. But the story runs the rounds and creates psychological distrust between Arab and Arab as to their national integrity and devotion to the cause.

The second factor is more direct. The Jews will be fighting for the existence of the new Jewish State and in this " life and death struggle " as it is naturally represented in Jewish publicity, half measures will go nowhere. Already Arab villages have been surprised by unconcealed visits from Hagana units threatening them with the most violent reprisals if there are anti-Jewish incidents in their vicinity. The list of successful Jewish reprisals against the British over the last two years of Jewish terrorism has bred the belief among Arabs that such Jewish threats are not empty threats ; and the psychological effect of this organized inculcation of fear—which is horribly reminiscent of other times of very recent memory in Europe—is a real Jewish weapon in these desperate days.

Finally, from a purely military standpoint the Jews have two advantages—a single command and interior lines of communication.

The problem of concerted Arab action has always been jeopardized by family, dynastic and national rivalries and jealousies. These have to some extent been neutralized by the Arab League which, as a machine, has co-ordinating potentialities—particularly in the direction of recruiting manpower and finance to assist the Arab resistance in Palestine. But the personal direction of what must sadly be called " military operations " is as complicated and delicate as was our own Allied Command during the late war. For there will certainly be rival Arab claimants for supreme control.

The Arabs in Palestine have, however, one asset of value. Potential reinforcements, arms and money can be infiltrated into Palestine without let or hindrance across the open frontiers which it shares with the Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Transjordan; and such declarations as have been made in Palestine itself and in Beirut, Damascus, Bahgdad, Amman and Cairo indicate that the opposition to Partition will concentrate on guerrilla tactics to which, as the British forces in Palestine well know, the terrain lends itself easily. The forces which will undertake this programme are not precisely disclosed, nor is it possible to hazard the rôle which may be played by the Transjordan Arab Legion, the best armed and disciplined Arab force on the Palestine frontiers. The Legion is under the supreme command of King Abdulla who, apart from his personal ambitions in the direction of kingship over a Greater Syria, may be feeling very sore with the Russians who have not only sponsored Partition but have also vetoed Transjordan's admission to membership of the United Nations.

As far as is known, there are as yet no Arab plans for the administrative organization of the three Palestine zones allocated to the Arab State under the Partition plan. But a possibility is the formation of an emergency

Arab Government for all Palestine, to take over the organization of the Palestine Resistance Movement. In it the rôle of Haj Amin el Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, will be vital. He has a position and a reputation; but he is an individualist and has yet to prove his ability to overcome his personal feuds and jealousies and to weld Arab opinion of all shades in Palestine and beyond its borders into an effective, disciplined and loyal whole.

This very gloomy appreciation of the possibilities which the United Nations Interim Commission has to face may of course prove to be exaggerated. But animosities are so highly concentrated and the local atmosphere of Palestine and the Middle East is so inflammable that any wishful attempt to minimize these possibilities would be dishonest.

The acceptance of the Partition scheme will go down in history as primarily the work of two nations—America and Russia. And already Moslem opinion everywhere and a large section of non-Moslem opinion at large has, on its own, found a popular and not at all flattering explanation of this unexpected alliance in unanimity over what is, of course, a purely political decision. It is that the American Government hopes to gain the support of the Jewish vote in the Presidential Elections of November 1948, while the Russians are backing the Jews as potential Communist missionaries in the Near and Middle East which the Soviets, with eyes on Haifa harbour, are hoping to penetrate. This blunt statement may be grossly unfair. But it would be insincere to deny that this widespread explanation of the American and Russian votes is very generally accepted.

Shortly after the Partition decision was taken, I met a hard-boiled American who belonged to the Republican party and lived in and on American politics. We discussed the vote at Lake Success and, after much frank talk which was mainly centred on past British incompetence in Palestine, he summed up his views. " You've heard of Nebuchadnezzar," he said, " and you've heard of Harry Truman. Well, listen now; and when you're listening, remember that Nebuchadnezzar and Harry are the same person in this doggerel." And this is what he recited :

Nebuchadnezzar the King of the Jews
Sold his wife for a pair of shoes.
When the shoes began to wear,
Nebuchadnezzar began to swear.
As the shoes got worse and worse,
Nebuchadnezzar began to curse.
When the shoes were bust to the wide,
Nebuchadnezzar lay down and died.

" And ", laughed my friend, " in a year all the Jews in New York will be voting against Harry; while his " wife "—the Wall Street oil interests in the Arab Middle East—will be after him like a pack of wolves."

One more story. Who, to-day, remembers that the powder which kindled the Crimean War, was touched off by a spark lit in—of all places—

the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem ? The story was told to me in the grotto of the Birth itself by a Christian Arab whose family had for generations been official guides in the Church. The Latin and the Greek priesthood, he said, had come to blows over their sectional rights in the Grotto of the Birth, and Christendom rang with protests and counter-protests while Napoleon III took up the Latin cause and the Czar Nicholas I that of the Greek Church. In an eleventh-hour effort to patch up a solution, the Turkish Vali, as representative of the power responsible for peace and order in the Church, invited the French and Russian Consul Generals to state their cases on the spot. They came. Neither would budge an inch ; arguments led to high words ; and eventually the Russian stumped off up one stairway to the Greek Convent and the Frenchman up the other to the Latin Church. That was the spark, and it was lit where the Christian message was first heard: "On earth peace, goodwill toward men." My friend shrugged his shoulders. " What did Napoleon and Nicholas care ? They were playing power politics."

It is poignantly sad that our much-loved, tiny and holy Palestine cannot —at any rate yet—be a single Palestinian State. Were it not for the violence of Arab-Jewish antipathies and for their fomentation from outside Palestine, such a State would be the normal solution. It would eliminate the horrible intricacies of the proposed inter-State frontiers ; it would centralize policy, finance and the utility services ; each community could have reassuring powers of local government ; and it would be far cheaper and—in the end—much less dangerous. These reflections imply—on my part—no bias, either pro-Arab or pro-Jewish. To me they are common sense. The Arabs proposed such a programme at Lake Success and tens of thousands of non-political Jews would accept it—even to-day. But Palestine in 1947, as it was in 1853, is the toy of power politics and that is that. Still, common sense always wins in the long run.

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THE RUSSIAN ZONE OF GERMANY

By A Berlin Correspondent

THE problem of the " iron curtain " over a part of Europe is too often discussed by British writers from the point of view of their political outlook. To newspaper correspondents who live in Berlin, however, it is not a matter of opinion but of fact. This " curtain " stretches along the Western frontier of the Russian Zone of Germany ; and, in such a way, that with the exception of Berlin, which is a fifth zone under Quadripartite control, the country to the east of that curtain is closed to all free inquiry. No correspondent can work there as he does in any western democracy. In fact, he is not allowed into that zone except on periodical, carefully-controlled tours.

From the time he leaves Berlin until the time he returns, the correspondent has to travel as a member of a group, which is accompanied by a member of the Russian Secret Service (N.K.V.D.). This guide is generally a person who knows very little German, and who remains in the background once he has handed you over to the local section of the Press Department of the Soviet Military Government in a particular area. There is no question of a correspondent roving round and getting information for himself. If he should leave the group for a moment to talk to a German, or tarry too long with a German official in a bureau or a factory, there is always a Russian at hand listening to the conversation and ready to make some lame excuse about pressure of time. To get permission to go over any place like a concentration camp or a uranium mine is impossible.

In consequence, it may be correctly stated that it is as difficult to be rightly informed of what is happening in the Russian Zone as in certain countries of central and south-east Europe. So much is kept secret regarding political and economic developments, or is misrepresented, that an overall picture is a matter of much sifting of information from many sources. Fortunately, however, Berlin is not completely controlled by the Russians, so that a great deal of information does seep through.

The Russian Zone covers most of Germany east of the River Elbe (except Berlin), and includes the *Laender* of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Thuringia, Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt. It joins on to the British and American zones, in the North and West, and to Czechoslovakia and Poland, in the South and East. The *Autobahn* and the railway, from Helmstedt to Berlin, and the air route are the only international connections inside the Russian Zone.

This eastern zone is mainly agricultural. Poland has taken the Silesian

coalfield. During their two-and-a-half years of occupation the Russians have done everything possible to integrate this territory into the political and economic system of eastern Europe. This policy has been accompanied by the taking of as much in reparations, both in the form of capital equipment and of current production, as possible. The story of the dismantlings is now a matter of history. All outstanding industrial plants have been stripped of everything that could be transported eastwards. This action has, however, been carried out in so careless and unscientific a manner, that much of this equipment has either become rusty and unusable *en route* or is still held up at Brest-Litovsk, the most important railway station where the Russian wide-gauge lines begin. The Russians also early realized that they required not only the plant, but also the skilled workmen to re-assemble and work it. As a result, hundreds of "*spezi*"—as the Russians call the experts—have been "voluntarily" sent eastward for such tasks. A classic example of the method followed was that employed in the case of the famous Zeiss Works, Jena. More than 200 of its best workers were rounded up in the early hours of the morning at the point of a Russian bayonet, at their homes, and ordered to leave immediately.

The re-organization of agriculture was one of the early tasks carried out by the Germans, under Russian direction. A sweeping land reform, without any compensation to former owners, was introduced as one of the first measures throughout the zone. That some drastic change from the former system of land ownership was essential is obvious. It was even urgent in view of the millions of German refugees arriving from territory which is now Polish, and from Czechoslovakia. At the same time, not only from the point of view of justice but also of economic results, the manner in which it was carried out leaves much to be desired.

This land reform measure has been boosted in the Russian-sponsored German press as the greatest of post-war achievements in this country. It extended to thirty per cent. of all workable agricultural land in the east zone, and applied to 3,000,000 hectares. Of these, 2,000,000 were parcelled out to some 500,000 refugee families, and the rest continue to be worked by public corporations, which therefore are now the largest landowners in the area. Results up to now show that the new settlers have not contributed to agricultural production what was expected of them. This is not surprising in view of the following facts. Between all of them, only 220,000 animals—cattle, sheep and goats—were distributed. This did not amount to one animal per family. Many of them have neither a cow nor a pig, while the average number of chickens to a farmyard is four. Some 60,000 houses and 70,000 cattle sheds and barns have also to be built before these new farmers are properly settled in. Drought, the lack of fertilizers and of draught animals are responsible for a great deal of the failure hitherto. But even when full allowance has been made for conditions over which neither the Russians nor the

armers had control, the fact still remains that in view of the poor quality of the soil in many areas, the size of the average farm—five to ten hectares—s too small to make it self-supporting, even in normal years.

In industry, production is now about forty per cent. of that of 1946, which is good compared with that of the western zones, especially in view of the dismantlings. Production has however been falling during the present year, especially in the coal mines. During 1946 the output eached 9,600,000 tons a month of brown coal—there is little other coal in he zone—or sixty per cent. of the 1943 figure. The highest output for 947 has been 8,200,000 tons, and there seems little chance of its being ncreased. The reasons for the falling off are many ; but chief among hem are poor food and lack of clothing and adequate fuel for the miners, nd their growing conviction that there is little point in working hard nerely to see the coal being used for reparations. Further dismantlings despite the Russians' earlier statement that these had ended months ago) lso add to the indifference of the miners. Recent dismantlings have eriously affected the transport situation. In many parts of the zone to-day here are only single-track railway lines where there were double-tracks at he end of the war. In Mecklenburg, for example, the position to-day is aid to be what it was in 1914.

Reparations are taken by the Russians in the form of both capital quipment and in contributions from current production. This latter nethod is made all the easier by the fact that Russian syndicates now own r control most of the industry in the zone. Reliable estimates show that ixty per cent. of the total industrial capacity is Russian-owned; and that f the *remainder*, sixty per cent. of the textile production, ninety per cent. f metal goods, eighty-five per cent. of leather goods and 100 per cent. of lass and porcelain are in Russian hands. The famous Meissen porcelain actory is reported to have been " bought " for RM 1,500,000, and the rade mark of the crossed swords has been replaced by the hammer-and-ickle.

The political and cultural activities of the Russian Zone naturally eceived special attention from the occupying authorities and the German ommunists associated with them, from the beginning. As in all countries here they have had to deal with the division of the workers into ommunists and socialists, the Russians came forward with the slogan : Unity of the Workers against capitalism, reaction and fascism.' In ractice this resulted here as elsewhere in a " co-ordinating " *Gleichschaltung*) of the political parties in a single party, controlled by the ommunists. Here, it appeared under the name of the Socialist Unity arty (S.E.D.), and led by men like Wilhelm Pieck and Walther Ulbricht, who had spent years between the two wars not in concentration camps, ut in Soviet Russia. Some former Social Democrats joined the S.E.D., ut the majority of the prominent ones who refused either left the eastern one, or have been arrested and are now in prisons or concentration camps,

or have been sent eastwards. It was not surprising under the conditions then operating that the S.E.D. should have emerged as the leading party in the zone. What was surprising, and gratifying, was that so many Germans had the courage to vote freely. The result was far stronger support of the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democrats than was to be expected (the Social Democrats were prevented from participating in the election). Had the elections been conducted under the same conditions as in Berlin on October 20, 1946, the S.E.D. would have received about thirty per cent. of the votes actually cast for them !

Political business in the various diets or state parliaments is carried on under a system which is superficially democratic, but which actually ensures that the S.E.D. gets its own way in all essential matters. This system is the so-called " bloc system " whereby the agenda of the diet is settled beforehand by negotiations between the political parties, and free discussion in the diet is a farce. Even so, the S.E.D. has failed on a number of occasions to put through some of its more blatant proposals, as for example, when in Saxony-Anhalt, the diet refused to agree to the censorship of the postal service " in order to check black market activities."

Despite the strong direct and indirect pressure brought to bear on political life by the Russian Military Government in the interests of the S.E.D., that party is far from popular among the Germans who see in it a mere tool of the U.S.S.R. The Russians would like to find some other means of winning over the population to their side, but since they gave their support so undividedly to the S.E.D. from the first moment, this embarrassing connection cannot so easily be discarded.

The Russians have been active and alert in their propaganda especially through the press and numerous publications. They never seem to lack newsprint, as do the military governments of the other zones, and can turn out newspapers, magazines and books in unlimited quantities. The Leipzig printing presses are working overtime trying to fulfil the propaganda demands of the eastern zone and eastern Europe. In a bookshop in one large city some months ago an exhibition of literature was held. The main window was full of communist publications all for sale ; in a side window were some old editions of Dickens, Scott, Wilde and Shaw, but each of them carried the sign " not for sale ". And it was not that they had any antiquarian value !

There is an agreement between the four occupying powers whereby there shall be a free circulation of newspaper and literature throughout all Germany. This was agreed at the Moscow Conference but hitherto very few publications from the western zones have found their way to Germans in the Russian Zone. In the past, anybody there found reading the *Neue Zeitung* or *Der Tagesspiegel* (American licensed papers) or the publications of the Social-Democrats has been branded as a " fascist " or " anti-democrat ".

Talking to Germans from the Russian Zone, one finds that their chief

complaint against the Russian occupation is not concerned with lack of food or of work, but the fear for their personal safety and liberty. Not only is there no freedom of the press or of public opinion as understood in the western democracies, but there is also the constant fear of arrest and deportation on flimsy charges—or no charges whatever. Habeas corpus is unknown in the Russian Zone. The number of people, including women and children, who have been suddenly rounded up and sent to unknown destinations, without any word being given to their relatives or being received from them for months after, must run into thousands. This, of course, does not include the hundreds of thousands of German prisoners-of-war, about whom little is definitely known to their relatives.)

Much propaganda is made in the Russian-sponsored German press about the cruelties of the Nazi concentration camps ; but nothing is said about conditions in many of these same camps to-day. They have long been used for similar purposes. The only difference appears to be that the present inmates are Social Democrats, " recalcitrant " landowners and other Germans who have incurred Russian displeasure. (Some of those people who talk so glibly about freedom of movement in the Russian Zone, might try to get right inside Buchenwald Concentration Camp, and report what they see and who they meet there !)

Education has been given special attention. School guidance books for teachers, which are now being published, show that history is treated completely from the communist point of view, with the materialist conception of history as the central dogma. Religion is officially stated to be the private concern of the individual, and the religious instruction of the child is no longer a concern of the school, but of the parent. There is no open oppression, but a great deal of " spying " on congregations goes on ; in a number of cases it is known that pastors report periodically to the local Russian authorities about the activities of their members.

Though the Russian sector of Berlin is officially not a part of the Russian Zone, there is no doubt but that the Soviet authorities would like to make it such. The zone is actually directed from the headquarters of Russian Military Government, in Berlin-Karlshorst. But as long as the American, British and French governments are represented in this fifth zone, such a co-ordination is impossible. If it should ever happen, then the Russian control east of the Elbe River will be complete.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that though the Russians rule their zone more strictly than do the other occupying powers, the Germans have not been won over to Russian ideas. These same Germans are looking westward, to Washington and London, not to Moscow for future help. This is not simply because they have lost so much territory to the Poles through Soviet support, but because they feel more strongly than ever before that they belong to the West and not to the East.

THE ONLY WAY TO PEACE

By J. Middleton Murry

IT is a rare and satisfying experience to read a book on the world-situation to-day which sees both the wood and the trees, which combines dispassionate objectivity in rendering the details of the complex tangle, with an impassioned emphasis on the significance of the spiritual pattern into which the tangle, seen by the eye of imagination, resolves. Sir Harold Butler's *Peace or Power* is such a book.* The contrast implied in our description between the dispassionate and the impassioned is superficial, and cannot be sustained. There is a passion for truth, and a passion for righteousness : and the one cannot live without the other. They are a single passion. It is this twofold passion which is the spiritual dynamic of Western civilization, in so far as it retains vitality. Sir Harold's book has it. It derives from the finer spirit of that civilization, and appeals to it. It is at once comprehensive and clear, charitable and uncompromising.

The author's technical qualifications for making a survey and a synthesis of this order are probably unique. Between the wars he was the head of the International Labour Office, the organization created by the League of Nations which, by reason of the excellence of its information and its palpable disinterestedness, came to command more general respect than any other of its organs. He thus acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the actual situation in the European countries. During the war he served as Minister of Information at the British Embassy in Washington, and thus acquired a sympathetic understanding of the motives and policy of U.S.A., the difficulties and desires of that great democracy in its massive adjustment to the unfamiliar responsibilities of leadership. Sir Harold's position has been on the margin of official authority. He has had the opportunities of the exalted view, and the opportunity of detachment; and he has profited by both.

This unusual knowledge leads to certain unusual emphases which give a powerful originality to the author's view. For instance, though we are all familiar, in the abstract, with the material devastation of Europe wrought by two world wars, it does not make a deep impact upon our consciousness. But one feels, in the case of Sir Harold, that it has become the permanent background of his thinking. The awareness is not intermittent; it is there all the time. One might say that he perceives and

* *Peace or Power*. By Harold Butler. Faber & Faber. 15s.

ponders as a good European, but the familiar phrase has to carry a new nuance of meaning. The kind of good European that Sir Harold is is acutely aware that the European idea is not localized in Europe. It has spread, in its most universal and viable form, and mainly by the agency of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, to the United States and the British Commonwealth. It is a political and moral idea.

> Most of the political apparatus with which the West has equipped itself from Magna Charta onwards has been designed to curb the arbitrary and irresponsible exercise of power. That after all is the first condition of liberty, whether of men or of nations. At the cost of long struggle and sacrifice it has been established as a sacred principle in all democratic communities. It cannot be established in the society of nations at a lesser price.

But this idea has never taken real root in the East, to which, by reason of its non-participation in the great formative experiences and institutions of the West, Russia essentially belongs. The concept of one world, in which the nations live in harmony because of their adherence to the common principle that justice must be achieved and can only be achieved by the restraint of arbitrary power, is alien to Russia. Her tradition ignores such a principle ; and the Communist creed which she has imposed upon herself by oriental methods categorically denies its validity. Hence the whole effort of Russian propaganda and Russian diplomacy, since the war, has been " to suggest that the world is divided into two incompatible types of society." They thwarted at every turn the deep desire of the United States to make the United Nations a reality. Inevitably the United States has reacted. If it " has felt compelled to apply the weight of its power to keep the world in balance, it is only because the Soviet had declined to join in a common enterprise for peace."

On this fundamental issue Sir Harold is completely uncompromising ; and that is an enormous relief after the moral woolliness with which so many of those who seek peace between Russia and the West are afflicted to-day. How frequent, and how nauseating, is the assumption that, simply because the antagonism between Russia and the West does threaten the peace of the world, or rather threatens to prevent the world from finding its arduous way back to peace, *therefore* it is six of one and a half-dozen of the other ; that the attitude of the peace-seeker must necessarily be one which sees equal right, and equal wrong on both sides. This feeble and immoral conception of impartiality is itself a sign of degeneracy. It betokens an intellectual and moral paralysis.

The utmost objectivity in considering the facts ; the utmost trenchancy in passing judgment on them when they have been objectively considered—that is what is demanded of the Westerner by all that is noblest in his tradition. Sir Harold fulfils the demand, to my sense, completely. His exposition of the facts is scrupulously fair. For example, he shows how the " democratic " governments instituted in Eastern Europe after the German defeat in 1918 were largely fictitious, because of the poverty and illiteracy of the peasants who were always the majority, and often the

overwhelming majority, of the population. Honest democracy was therefore out of the question, when the elections were rigged and the nominal voters terrorized. Except in Czechoslovakia, the democratic governments of Eastern Europe were corrupt, incapable and humbug. The necessary prerequisite of genuine democracy was therefore agrarian revolution—the expropriation of the great feudal land-owners and the distribution of their lands. This necessary revolution was feared and suppressed. Those who advocated it were denounced as Communists, whether they were in fact Communists or not, and liquidated with extreme brutality. The inevitable consequence was that for the peasants, completely ignorant of Marxist theory, Communist was the generic name of their only friends. The Communists would give them the land.

And the Communists have given them the land, which both the illusory parliamentary régimes favoured by the Western powers and the authoritarian régimes which succeeded them were determined not to do. It is obvious that against such a background of experience, the Soviet claim to be the defenders of true democracy, both against the sham democracy favoured by the West, and the Fascism which superseded it, has a force that most Westerners are loth to admit. It is one of Sir Harold's most valuable achievements in this book that he makes this so clear that the unbiassed reader is compelled to the conclusion that in the main, in this particular sphere of Eastern Europe, the Soviet claim is justified. There is, of course, a glaring exception to this generalization. The eclipse of the genuine peasant democracies which had been established in the Baltic States has been a terrible price to pay for the emancipation of the peasantry in the Balkans, in Hungary and Poland. Moreover, under the corrupt parliamentary régimes there was a degree of personal freedom, which has been extinguished by the secret police common to both Fascism and Communism. But, even when we have given full weight to the dark side of the agrarian revolution which the Russian power has fostered, we cannot in honesty refuse to admit that, so far as Eastern Europe is concerned, the Russian power has been on the whole beneficent, and that the Russian claim that Communism has sponsored " true democracy " as opposed to the false democracy sponsored by the West is more true than false. When the claim is made to the peasants who have been emancipated —and it is to them that it is chiefly made—the claim is practically irrefutable. It corresponds to their experience ; it speaks to their condition.

It is imperative that the defenders of the West should make this acknowledgment, and realize that parliamentary democracy is fatally compromised in the greater part of Eastern Europe ; not merely by the cruel experience which the peasants have had of an evil caricature of parliamentary government in their own countries, but by the open support which the parliamentary governments of the West, partly through unpardonable ignorance, partly through a craven fear of Communism, and partly through their own subservience to commercial and financial interests, gave to those corrupt

parliamentary régimes, and to the pinchbeck dictators who succeeded them. The bitter experience of the Director of the I.L.O. speaks in Sir Harold's verdict.

> Because so many of the political bosses, like Dollfuss, Beck, Tzvetkovich and Tartarescu, were courted and fêted by Western statesmen and diplomats, the ideas which were preached in London, Paris and Geneva became fly-blown and suspect in the eyes of the Eastern proletariat.

The West has lost Eastern Europe, because it deserved to lose it. Whether Russia can keep it is another matter. There are weak spots in the new united front. There is Czechoslovakia, which though basely betrayed by the democracies of the West, has the fundamental principles of democracy deeply rooted in her tradition from the days of Huss. There is the more equivocal Poland whose link with the West is rather through Roman Catholicism than any political and moral affinity. And, behind these, is the fundamental problem of supplying the economic needs of Eastern Europe, which will not be easily solved by Soviet Russia.

The West may yet have an enormous power of attraction for these still debatable lands. But the condition of its possessing such a power is a radical change in the West. It must become conscious of what it stands for. The negativity of democracy must change to positivity. In other words, democracy must will its own continued existence. The great difficulty which it has in so doing is manifest in the parlous situation of the key-democracy of France, where the atomism and individualism engendered by negative democracy appear to have largely destroyed the moral cohesion necessary to the existence of a national society. There the peasants and the *bourgeoisie*, emancipated by the French Revolution, by clinging to their own selfish interests, have virtually conspired to prevent social justice being done to the industrial worker, whose just discontents are now being exploited by the Communists precisely in order to prevent a renascence of democracy in Western Europe. Here, as ever, Sir Harold, though his book was written some months before the present crisis in France, is a safe and illuminating guide. His pages on the political and social condition of France are masterly.

But behind the various vicissitudes, and the greater or less degree of jeopardy, of particular democracies to-day, is the fundamental question posed in the title of Sir Harold's book. The question is : shall it be Peace or Power ? And, in the last resort, it must be affirmed categorically that the only way to peace is the way of Western democracy. For, whatever be its historical shortcomings, the fact is that only the methods of authentic political democracy—the willing submission of the minority to the majority in the confidence that its submission will not be abused—can secure the peace of the world. Without that, nothing is left but the pitting of power against power. Just as in the national democracies themselves survival depends upon a new conception of the positive duties of the democratic citizen, so in the world-society the survival depends upon an equally new and corollary conception of the positive duties of one nation

to another, in the economic sphere and in the maintenance of the world's peace.

These new conceptions of positive democracy, domestic and international, are taking shape. The great U.S.A. has been the pioneer in positive international democracy ; and Congress is now in travail of that new birth. Britain, incapable for the moment of action on this grand scale, may fairly claim to be the pioneer of positive domestic democracy. For an exhausted nation to have plunged, however blindly, into her present effort at social regeneration is something of which we may be proud. Both these efforts at further incarnation of the Kingdom of God have all " the scandal of particularity " of which modern theology speaks, reminiscently ; but it is a pity that the religious are not more aware of new incarnations when they are actually happening. The more so because these efforts have need of every atom of spiritual energy on which they can call. Sir Harold's book is a summons to that dedication " to a new morality and a new faith " to which every thinking man will respond.

THE JUDAS TREE

By Freda C. Bond

After the bombers had passed, that April morning,
I saw the ruined street and the Judas tree ;
Its crimson, sinister blossoms spattered the pavement,
Its limbs were blasted : the symbol of treachery
Trailed in the dust, struck down
When the wind from the jaws of midnight swept the town.

Who would have prophesied the second flowering ?
While still the fallen masonry strewed the path
The shattered branches broke into crimson blossom,
A beautiful, malignant aftermath.
The Judas tree lives on
Although the postern where it bloomed is gone.

The cycle of years revolves, and out of the ruins
Of lands and peoples a new growth burgeons now.
Are the leaves of the tree for the healing of the nations ?
Will the fruit of Paradise redden upon the bough ?
Or will it be
But a second flowering of the Judas tree ?

BRITAIN'S PLACE IN CIVIL AVIATION

By Douglas Colyer

THE structure of civil aviation as it exists in this country rests upon the authority of three Acts of Parliament, the first two of which, the Ministry of Civil Aviation Act and the Civil Aviation Act, regulate its domestic organization, and the third, the Air Navigation Act 1947, governs its international relationships.

Governmental control of civil aviation in the United Kingdom dates from the period immediately following the 1914—1918 war, when a Civil Aviation Department was set up in the Air Ministry charged with the responsibility for administering civil air legislation. Through the years between the wars, the responsibility of this Department, controlled by a Director General directly under the authority of the Secretary of State for Air, grew in scope and complexity. Whereas it had first seemed desirable to leave British air transport to support itself, it was soon obvious that it could not compete on these terms with the air services of foreign countries which were receiving substantial subsidies from their Governments. A policy of subsidization was therefore adopted and civil air transport continued to run as a co-operative effort between State and private enterprise until 1939, when the outbreak of war put an end to its normal activities, though it continued to function unbrokenly, under State control, throughout the period of hostilities.

As the war drew towards its conclusion, it became clear that drastic action would be necessary if this country were to be prepared to take the place in post-war civil aviation to which its position as a world power and its responsibilities entitled it. The War Cabinet therefore set up a committee to study the question in October 1943, and its recommendations were incorporated in the Ministry of Civil Aviation Act of 1945 and the Civil Aviation Act of 1946.

The first of these Acts provides for the appointment of a Minister of Civil Aviation (though Lord Swinton had in fact been appointed the first Minister in October 1944), and lays down his functions. He " shall be charged with the general duty of organizing, carrying out and encouraging measures for the development of civil aviation, for the designing, development and production of civil aircraft, for the promotion of safety and efficiency in the use thereof, and for research into questions relating to air navigation."

The Civil Aviation Act of 1946 defined the scope of the Minister's responsibilities, made him responsible for the acquisition of land and the

administration of the aerodromes required for air transport services, and created corporations to operate air transport services under State control. As a result, the Ministry of Civil Aviation assumed the status of a first class Department of State, administered by a Permanent Secretary, and was greatly expanded to deal with its additional functions. By May 1947, the headquarters staff of the Ministry numbered 1,450, another 3,500 being employed at outstations ; a total of 4,950, as compared with the 273 persons who formed the staff of the Directorate General of Civil Aviation in the Air Ministry at the outbreak of the late war. It is anticipated that when the Ministry's programme of public aerodromes has been completed the total number employed directly by the Ministry will be about 11,000.

Since the direct control by the Ministry itself of the various aerodromes and their complex organizations throughout the United Kingdom would present serious difficulties, it was decided to decentralize this control into four divisions, with headquarters in London, Prestwick, Bristol and Manchester or Liverpool respectively. The controllers of these four divisions will be responsible for the normal administration of the airfields within their divisions, the heads of the specialized services located on the airfields having, however, direct access to their departmental chiefs at the Ministry in London. Under the divisional controllers, each airfield has its own aerodrome commandant.

The corporations created by the Act are three in number, and possess a monopoly of scheduled air services. British Overseas Airways Corporation operates services across the North Atlantic and throughout the Empire and the Far East ; British European Airways Corporation is responsible for internal and European routes ; British South American Airways Corporation serves South America and the Caribbean. The members of the Boards of these corporations are appointed by and are responsible to the Minister of Civil Aviation. They are bound to carry out the directions issued to them by the Minister, who has however stated that it is his conception " that Government policy requires the freest exercise of day to day management by the Corporations direct." It is to be noted that their function is the operation of air services and not the provision of aircraft and they are forbidden to undertake the manufacture of aircraft or their accessories.

By the terms of the Act, the corporations conduct their business on the lines of a normal commercial company, so far as that is possible, their accounts being laid before Parliament annually. It was foreseen however that during a period of ten years, they would probably be operating at a loss, and up till April 1, 1956, therefore, grants may be made from the Exchequer to cover operating losses. These grants must not exceed £10,000,000 in the present year and £8,000,000 for each of the subsequent eight years.

In order that the corporations shall be in a position to plan their services for a given year, it is clear that they must have the blessing of the Ministry

r any estimated deficiency in revenue on the year's running. For this ason, they are directed to submit programmes of proposed services, and e Ministry and the Treasury then decide whether or not a grant shall be ade to them for that particular year. The Ministry have stated that it is hoped to provide an incentive to economical operation by fixing the ants (or the basis thereof) before or early in the year to which they late." Nevertheless, for the current year, there was a serious lag in the proval of programmes submitted by the corporations, due to a variety reasons connected with the purchase of suitable types of aircraft and the ailability of airfields. In fairness to the corporations, such time lags ust clearly be reduced to a minimum in the future. The estimates for the ar ending March 31, 1948, provide for grants of £5 million to B.O.A.C., ¼ million to B.E.A.C. and £¼ million to B.S.A.A.C., but these are made partly of balances due for 1946-1947 and partly of advances on account grants for 1947-1948. It is expected that these latter grants will finally nount to £7½ million, £2 million and £¼ million for B.O.A.C., B.E.A.C. nd B.S.A.A.C. respectively.*

In the planning of programmes, the provision of suitable aircraft to erate the services proposed is of the first importance, and it is here that e need for clear understanding between the corporations and Govern- ent departments is most apparent. The present arrangements involve uadrilateral negotiations between the constructors, the operating mpanies and the Ministries of Civil Aviation and Supply. The reasons r this are of course mainly financial. The cost of developing a new rcraft, especially if new techniques are involved, is beyond the means of e constructor or the operating company alone. It is only the Govern- ent which can provide the necessary funds.†

For such a system to work satisfactorily, there must be the closest -operation and a genuine measure of give and take. Though it is parent from evidence given before the Select Committee that the rporations and the constructors would like to have greater autonomy an they have at present in the choice of types and the placing of orders r aircraft, the system appears to have worked fairly satisfactorily.‡ he Government decision to concentrate on British-built aircraft, even the expense of some temporary acceptance of less suitable types for terim operation, has been loyally accepted by the corporations.

The complete concentration of the British aircraft industry on military rcraft during the war has placed our constructors temporarily at a sadvantage vis-à-vis the Americans, but it is reasonable to believe that e lag will be made up and, in the meantime, British constructors have en able to profit by the experience gained in their wartime efforts, to oduce interim types deriving directly from combat aircraft, and to

* Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Estimates Session 1946-47, pp. vii and viii.
† See *The Economist*, October 18, 1947.
‡ Sixth Report of Select Committee on Estimates 1946-47, pp. 165-174.

apply the lessons learned in war to the design of real civil aircraft to follow them. There are already on the stocks a number of civil aircraft which are in no way inferior, and indeed almost certainly superior, to the American aircraft which will be coming into service at the same time. The need for a programme of the aircraft types which would be required after the war was early foreseen and the Brabazon Committee Reports, from February 1943 onwards, laid down specifications for each main category of civil transport aircraft, including helicopters, ranging from the light feeder line 5/6 seater to the Brabazon I, an aircraft of 140 tons of which two prototypes have been ordered from the Bristol Aeroplane Company. The first of these prototypes should be ready to fly by mid-1948 and, if successful, will initiate a new era in the operation of air services, with a normal cruising height of 35,000 feet, carrying 100 passengers in a pressurized hull at 350 miles per hour. Such an undertaking as this, involving the expenditure of several million pounds would obviously be beyond the resources of any commercial company, and the system by which the Ministry of Supply shoulders the burden of the cost of development and the price of a limited number of prototypes appears to be the only method of making progress in such a field, notwithstanding the natural dislike on the part of operator and constructor of too close governmental control.

Though the Civil Aviation Act restricts the operation of scheduled services to the government-controlled corporations, it leaves the field open to private enterprise for the provision of ' charter ' services, although it does not prevent the corporations from competing in this field also if they wish. The definition of a ' scheduled ' service is not easy and different countries have interpreted it variously. The ' scheduled ' journey, as defined in the Civil Aviation Act of 1946, is " one of a series of journeys which are undertaken between the same two places and which together amount to a systematic service operated in such a manner that the benefits thereof are available to members of the public from time to time seeking to take advantage of it." In this somewhat cautious phrase the key words are " systematic service " and " available to members of the public ". Such services are the prerogative of the corporations, but any services operated in response to specific requirements from private individuals or organizations for their own purposes are legitimate charter operations. Equally, the carriage of freight, even on a regular service is outside the restrictions imposed by the Act. In practice, the charter operators have had little difficulty in keeping within the rules and obtaining business sufficient to keep their aircraft earning reasonable dividends. It is moreover to be noted that the Civil Aviation Act applies only to the United Kingdom and a number of British charter companies have been able to do a lucrative business from bases established outside the British Isles.

In present conditions, there exists another opening for business for the charter companies. The corporations have the right, and, indeed, the

uty to provide services where there exists a public demand. Shortage f aircraft at present makes it impossible for them to respond to all these emands from their own resources. They are, therefore, empowered to ire the aircraft of private companies to act as their agents in supplying ese services—and the charter companies are in some cases running cheduled services for a longer or shorter period in the employ of one or ther corporation. A recent example of this occurred during the French ailway strike in June 1947, when aircraft of private companies were hartered to run a special auxiliary service to carry stranded British ourists from Paris to London.

The need for sub-contracting of this kind by the corporations on assenger routes is, however, likely to be only a temporary phase. With ne production of suitable types and the development of commercial viation to a point at which the corporations will attain financial solvency, : is probable that they will themselves be capable of catering for the needs f most of the passenger traffic upon, or deriving from, their routes verseas, in those cases where the feeder routes are not served by local ompanies. In these circumstances, the charter companies will probably nd their most lucrative field in the carriage of freight, especially of erishable goods, where speed justifies the additional expense of air ransport. The production by several British constructors of types of ircraft especially designed for freight carrying is a sign of the appreciation f this trend.

In this connection it is of interest to note that the Civil Aviation Act rovides for the setting up of an Air Transport Advisory Council to onsider any representations made with respect to the facilities provided y any of the three corporations and any questions relating to facilities for ir transport. The Council is not concerned with any matter which is egulated by international agreement to which the British Government s a party.

This leads us to the consideration of the international aspect of civil viation. It is perhaps in its ability to overpass geographical and national rontiers that aviation, in its commercial aspect, has its most important ontribution to make to international relationships, and it is against this ackground that our national organization should be viewed. " The eroplane ignores frontiers and there can be no doubt that the right rganization for air services is a world air authority to own and operate uch services. . . . We must be large minded in civil aviation and cast way the impediments of petty nationalism."

It was in this spirit that the International Commission for Air Navigation I.C.A.N.), the Comité International Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens (CITEJA), the International Aeronautical Federation (IAF) and a umber of other international bodies came into being during the years

* Mr. Ivor Thomas, Parliamentary Secretary, M.C.A., House of Commons, January 24, 1946.

between the wars. All these bodies made valuable contributions to the cause of civil aviation and, in addition, the various commonwealth conferences, by fostering air transport agreements within the Commonwealth, paved the way for wider international agreement.

The 1939-1945 war, with the great increases in range and size of aircraft and the vast expansion of transport operations which it entailed, brought the need for a real world authority to regulate civil air operations into urgent prominence. A number of exploratory talks were held between interested Allied governments and ideas began to crystallize. It became clear that there was a measure of agreement among the nations, especially as to the need for a world-wide convention to lay down rules for the orderly development of international air transport and to eliminate uneconomical competition.

A British Government White Paper was published in 1944, setting forth certain privileges which it was proposed should be reciprocally granted between the nations. These privileges have come to be known as the " Five Freedoms ". They are as follows :

(i) Freedom to fly across a country's territory without landing.
(ii) Freedom to land for non-commercial traffic purposes (that is, for refuelling, maintenance, etc.)
(iii) Freedom to disembark passengers, mails and freight embarked in the aircraft's country of origin.
(iv) Freedom to embark passengers, mail and freight for carriage to the aircraft's country of origin.
(v) Freedom to carry traffic between two foreign countries.

the White Paper proposed that the first four freedoms should be universally granted, the fifth being reserved for negotiation between individual countries.

At about the same time, the United States of America issued invitations for a conference on the subject. Representatives of fifty-four nations met in Chicago in November 1944. In the course of protracted discussions, a wide difference of view between the United Kingdom and the United States on the question of the fifth freedom became apparent and the difference proved irreconcilable.

Nevertheless, the conference was far from abortive. There emerged from it a new convention on international civil aviation embodying, to quote the preamble, " certain principles and arrangements in order that international civil aviation may be developed in a safe and orderly manner and that international air transport services may be established on the basis of equality of opportunity and operated soundly and economically." The new convention included the setting up of an International Civil Aviation Organization, whose main aims were to

(i) Insure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world.
(ii) Insure that the rights of contracting States are fully respected

and that every contracting State has a fair opportunity to operate international air lines.

(iii) Promote safety of flight in international air navigation.*

Pending the ratification of the convention by the requisite number of ations, a Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization was rought into being at Chicago to ensure co-ordination and collaboration a the international field. With its seat at Montreal, an Assembly meeting om time to time, an elected Council in permanent session and an nternational secretariat, P.I.C.A.O. did much valuable work on the widest nge of subjects, until its metamorphosis into I.C.A.O. early in 1947. he Air Navigation Act, which received the Royal Assent on March 27, 1947, akes effective in the United Kingdom the so-called Chicago Convention nd provides for the costs involved in membership of the International ivil Aviation Organization.

Parallel with the convention, the conference produced an International ir Services Transit Agreement, tabled by the United States Delegation, roviding for the reciprocal grant of the first two freedoms. The agree- ent was signed by a large number of countries, including all the member ountries of the British Commonwealth, who had not felt able to subscribe o an alternative draft agreement which the United States delegation had bled and which proposed the grant of all five freedoms between the gnatories, a removal of all barriers to open competition which was quite ontrary to the pattern of orderly development of air transport which, in ne British view, was the correct solution of the problem.†

There remained the need for nations wishing to operate mutual ommercial air services to conclude bilateral agreements. The divergent iews of the United Kingdom and the United States on the pattern of uture civil aviation development were at the root of the problem of rganizing a workable system. Their ability or inability to make a atisfactory agreement was, therefore, of particular importance in deter- ining the future relations of nations in this important matter. Good ill on both sides was not lacking and an agreement was reached at a onference in Bermuda in 1946 which is therefore of particular interest, nd has provided the pattern for a number of other bilateral agreements etween the nations.

To quote the words of Sir Henry Self, who was the head of the ritish Delegation : " The Conference tackled the controversial issue of fth freedom traffic. The agreement acknowledged the right to carry is class of traffic, but provides that capacity offered should be related to ne traffic demand between termini and en route, after taking account of ocal and regional services."‡ Within these limits, the two countries

* International Civil Aviation Conference. Command 6614. H.M. Stationery Office, Appendix II.
† The Status of Civil Aviation in 1946. Second British Commonwealth and Empire lecture by r Henry Self. Aeronautical Reprints No. 105, Royal Aeronautical Society 1946.
‡ Op. cit.

granted to the designated air carriers of each other the right to operate commercial services enjoying all " five freedoms " through each other's territory on routes agreed between them, and agreed upon the rates to be charged for passage or freight carried on these routes.

In case of disagreement, should the two national authorities be unable to arrive at a solution, provision was made to refer the dispute to I.C.A.O. for an advisory report, which should make final agreement a reasonably simple matter.

The conclusion of the " Bermuda " agreement between the United Kingdom and the United States was an important step on the way towards making possible a multilateral agreement embodying those principles to which all members of I.C.A.O. may be able to subscribe, leaving to bilateral agreements such matters as the choice of routes to be operated and other questions of special interest to individual pairs of States. The subject was discussed at length at the First Assembly of I.C.A.O. at Montreal in May 1947 and at a Conference in Geneva in November, which unfortunately was unable to reach agreement.

In international civil aviation, the question of rate fixing is obviously of primary importance. In the United Kingdom, as in most other countries, it is recognized that the operators are as yet unable to provide services at a price attractive to the traveller and at the same time adequate to cover the cost of operating the service. While subsidies are, therefore, necessary at the moment, the health of the industry must depend on its ability to stand on its own feet as soon as may be by providing services at a price sufficiently low to create an increased demand, but which, in time, will cover the costs of efficient operation plus a reasonable profit. It is perhaps worth noting that, whereas the United States air lines are ostensibly operating without state assistance, the contracts which they receive from their Government for the carriage of mail, are, in fact, so attractive as to amount to a virtual subsidy.

The machinery for fixing rates for the services operated by the Governments signing bilateral agreements is that provided by the Regional Traffic Conferences of the International Air Transport Association, an association of air line operators formed in 1945 to which the majority of international companies belong. This association, generally known as I.A.T.A., has its headquarters in Montreal, by the side of I.C.A.O. and is the international organ for the regulation of relationships between the operators, just as I.C.A.O. is the organ regulating governmental relationships.

Such, in brief outline, is the pattern of civil aviation as it affects this country in the year 1948. Little more than two years after the end of the war, it is inevitable that there should be many gaps still to be filled and that much remains to be done before it can be certain that the organization —Ministry, corporations, aerodromes, services of all kinds—has been planned and is developing on the right lines. Much still depends on a

ystem of trial and error and decisions taken are frequently the object of riticism, both ill- and well-informed. The wisdom of accepting a position f temporary inferiority in aircraft in order to save dollars and encourage ne British aircraft industry has been energetically debated ; the degree of ontrol exercised by ministries in the production and supply of aircraft o the corporations remains a fruitful subject of controversy. On the perational side, there are complaints of the level of landing fees at aero- romes in this country, which is much higher than is usual on the ontinent, and, coupled with the high cost of petrol, on which full duty ; charged when it is used in aircraft on internal services, cannot fail o have a cramping effect on the development of flying services within ne British Isles.

Such problems are inherent in the period through which we are passing. Modifications will have to be made as experience is gained. The develop- nent of a truly national aviation, commensurate in strength and efficiency f operation with the world position of this country is not the task of a ay or a year. The determining factor in the successful operation of air ervices is the quality of the service given and this is dependent upon xperience, a high standard in material and personnel and the financial bility to provide the expensive installations which are essential for omfort, speed, safety and regularity. In our present situation, it is ossible to provide the first two in reasonable measure. The standards of afety and regularity, especially the latter, are still not what they should be. here is, unfortunately, even now, a good deal of truth in the catch- hrase : " If you've time to spare, travel by air." Fog, headwinds, hortage of aircraft are all factors which interfere with the regularity and dd to the risk of flying. Navigational aids, reserve power and range in ircraft, larger fleets, are essential to the elimination of risk and delay, ut time and money are needed to provide them. Right decisions on the nany and intricate problems involved call for the closest and most un- rudging co-operation between Ministry and airline operators.

But however wise our decisions may be on the national plane, develop- nents in other countries are of only slightly less importance to us in the lanning of our air network. As the framers of the Chicago Convention ecognized, aviation makes countries inter-dependent for its operation o an extent which was not true of the older methods. While the size and ature of its civil air fleet are matters for each country to decide for itself in ne light of the position which it wishes to occupy in the carrying trade of ne world, the building and equipment of its airports up to modern tandards is a matter of concern to all the countries operating international ir routes through it. Unfortunately, the building of a modern airport, quipped with all the latest navigational aids, involves an expenditure uite beyond the means of some of the countries whose territories occupy ey positions on the main air lanes. International operation is dependent pon the provision of facilities where they are needed and the intervention

of the international civil aviation authority to advance the necessary funds is therefore essential in order to avoid delay in the development of world-wide facilities. This is one of the most urgent problems facing I.C.A.O., if " the orderly growth " of commercial aviation is not to suffer a serious setback. Only when fully-equipped airports are available, spaced at reasonable intervals along the air routes of the world, will civil aviation be able to make its proper contribution to the provision of communications between the nations. So long as the design of aircraft is conditioned by the availability of suitable aerodromes on which the aircraft can land, air transport can only be an affair of makeshifts.

Moreover, until all countries are willing to come into a universal fellowship of nations offering reasonable facilities for the operation of commercial aircraft of no matter what country, into and through their territory, the potentialities of civil aviation as a contribution to international understanding will be wasted. The signing of a number of bilateral conventions for mutual co-operation in this field is an encouraging sign ; the fact that more than a score of nations are ready to discuss a multilateral agreement is a step on the way ; but the road is long and there remain some formidable obstacles still to be overcome before the goal is reached. To assist in clearing them is not the least important of the functions of our own national authorities.

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THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

By Hermann Mannheim

THE Bill, which has recently reached the Committee stage, has been, rightly and almost without any dissenting voice, acclaimed as an excellent and enlightened piece of work.* Of an equally high standard was the debate in the House of Commons on November 27 and 28, 1947, where the criticisms voiced by members of all parties referred to questions of technical detail rather than of principle. In the course of the debate it was stressed by several members and also explicitly admitted by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Home Office, that many important sections of the criminal law in this country are in need of consolidation and reform. Reference was made to questions involving general principles, such as the age of criminal responsibility, as well as to specific crimes such as homosexual activities and murder. The MacNaughten Rules and the law of abortion might be added to this list. However, urgent as some of these reforms may well seem, it is obvious that each of them would require too much preparatory work and introduce too many controversial issues to justify a demand for their incorporation in the present Bill. How difficult any kind of piecemeal reform must inevitably be in the field of criminal justice will become evident to every reader of the Bill, especially where it deals with points of procedure. All the amendments of the law of criminal procedure proposed in the Bill are desirable in themselves, but there are other points which are equally in need of reform such as, for example, the distinction between felony and misdemeanour, or the powers of the Court of Criminal Appeal.

The main contents of the Bill may be divided into provisions of a destructive and prohibitive character, on the one hand, and of a constructive and permissive nature, on the other. Regarding the first category, one of the most important tasks of this Bill is the abolition of out-of-date and merely degrading methods of punishment or of empty legal conceptions which have lost any meaning or outlived their usefulness : corporal punishment, penal servitude, " hard labour " and the obsolete " division " system in prison ; the terms " Criminal Lunatic

* My previous article " A New Criminal Justice Bill ? " was published in the August 1946 issue of The Fortnightly. For several of the criticisms and recommendations made in the present article I am greatly indebted to my colleagues on the Executive Committee of the Howard League for Penal Reform and on the Council of the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency. I should like to make it clear, however, that neither the League nor the Institute are in any way responsible for the views expressed in this article.

Asylum " and " criminal lunatic ", which are to be replaced by the terms " Broadmoor Institution " and " Broadmoor patient ". No opposition has so far arisen to any of these changes with the exception of the abolition of flogging, but even here, to judge from the debate in the House of Commons, it seems that the educational spadework done in the ten years since the publication of the admirable Report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment (1938) has had its effect.

One of the most important of these prohibitive provisions is Clause 16 which forbids the imprisonment by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction of persons under seventeen and by Courts of Assize or Quarter Sessions up to the age of fifteen, and requires any Court considering the imprisonment of a person under twenty-one to obtain " information about the circumstances, including the character " of the offender. Under this clause, a prison sentence can be imposed on a person under twenty-one only if the Court is of opinion that no other method of dealing with him is appropriate, the reasons for which opinion have to be stated in the warrant of commitment. Moreover, as soon as the Secretary of State is satisfied that other methods than imprisonment are available, His Majesty may by Order in Council prohibit Courts of Summary Jurisdiction altogether from imprisoning persons under twenty-one. This otherwise admirable provision means in one direction a retrograde step as compared with the pre-war Bill which proposed to prohibit imprisonment of persons under sixteen by any Court.

In view of the considerable numbers of persons between sixteen and twenty-one sentenced to imprisonment (in 1944 : 3,021 youths and 904 girls), the Home Secretary's task of finding adequate alternatives will not be an easy one. One of the alternatives already proposed in the Bill will be the Detention Centre (Clause 17) where young people between fourteen and twenty-one may be detained for three or six months provided the Court considers no other method of dealing with them (except imprisonment) appropriate. The value of these Centres, which are intended as substitutes for the Howard Houses of the pre-war Bill, is difficult to assess because, here as in the case of the other new institutions envisaged, the Bill contains only the framework, leaving it to the Home Secretary's Rules and Regulations to fill in the details. The idea behind these detention centres is obviously to provide the " short, sharp lesson " which is regarded as necessary in the case of young offenders for whom probation would be too soft and long-term detention unnecessary. At present, the danger cannot be entirely ruled out that these centres may be established in wings of prisons and therefore hardly superior to the existing " Young Prisoners' Centres ". There seems to be no reason why, at least as far as juveniles under seventeen are concerned, the same object could not be achieved by short-term Approved Schools, of which a few are already available. In any case, children of school age should not be eligible for commitment to detention centres and the use of prison

wings as centres should be forbidden.

Before leaving the prohibitive Clauses of the Bill, one should perhaps point out that no attempt has been made to get rid of those very short prison sentences which are universally condemned as wasteful and destructive. Under the Bill, the minimum term of imprisonment legally permissible is still five days. There has no doubt been a great improvement in this respect in recent years as Courts have become conscious of the evil effects of such sentences. According to the Report of the Prison Commission for 1945, prison sentences not exceeding one month have gone down from 13,865 (or fifty-one per cent. of total receptions) for men in 1938 to 6,579 (or 28.2 per cent. of total receptions) in 1944, but even this figure seems still too high, and the proportion of sentences between one month and three months has even somewhat increased during the same period. Bearing in mind the cautious statement made in the Report that " for those serving very short sentences the most that can be done is to try to create conditions which will do the prisoners no harm, physical or mental, in the hope that the deterrent features inherent in the fact of imprisonment will have some effect on their future conduct," surely what is needed is, if not a complete prohibition of very short prison sentences, at least a provision on the lines, referred to above, for young persons under twenty-one to make Courts still more reluctant to impose such sentences on offenders of any age. In many cases, probation would no doubt be a perfectly adequate substitute. It may be noted in this connection that in the recently published *Criminal Statistics* for 1939—1945 a regrettable decline is shown in the use of probation from fifteen per cent. of the total in 1938 to six per cent. in 1945 in the case of offenders aged twenty-one and over dealt with for indictable offences in Magistrates Courts and from thirteen to eight per cent. in Courts of Assize and Quarter Sessions. If Courts, before passing a prison sentence on an adult, had to make thorough preliminary inquiries of the kind they will have to make under the Bill for persons under twenty-one, this downward trend would probably be reversed.

Among the predominantly constructive clauses of the Bill, none should be given a more careful second reading than those dealing with persistent offenders. True as it undoubtedly is that the young delinquent must hold the centre of attention in any modern programme of penal reform, the failures, called recidivists, of our preventive efforts, should not be ignored. Of approximately 25,000 male convicted prisoners received in prison in 1944, only 8,801 were not known to have any previous proved offences, and of the recidivists 7,507 had five or more such offences and 3,547 had been in prison at least five times, 527 even more than twenty times (imprisonment for non-payment of fines excluded). Preventive Detention, established under the Prevention of Crime Act 1908, to deal with the habitual criminal, has conspicuously failed, mainly because it has not been used by the Courts. The number of prisoners serving such sentences had

dwindled down to thirty-eight in 1944, whereas the Prison Commissioners, in the remarkable document (reproduced in their Report for 1945) which presents their far-sighted programme for the post-war years, estimate the number of prisoners who would have qualified for preventive detention under the Bill of 1938 at over 2,000.

The reasons why Courts have been so reluctant to pass sentences of this kind are obvious : outstanding among them is, in the first place, the dislike rightly felt by judges of the present " double-track " system which means that preventive detention can be used only in addition to a sentence of penal servitude ; secondly, their inclination to take into account the offence of which the prisoner is convicted rather than his whole personality ; thirdly, a point too often ignored, the inadequacy of the information available on that personality, and finally, the unconstructive and unreformative character of the methods of treatment employed which—largely in consequence of the small number of prisoners at present serving sentences of this kind—are not sufficiently adapted to the needs of the different types of offenders. In conformity with its predecessor, the present Bill proposes to replace the double-track by a single-track system and to make preventive detention more elastic by providing two possibilities instead of the one at present available ; corrective training for persons aged twenty-one years and over with at least two previous convictions of a fairly serious character, and preventive detention for persons of thirty years and over with at least three such previous convictions who have already served at least two terms of Borstal training, imprisonment or corrective training. Whereas a person of the first category may be sentenced to corrective training of not less than two nor more than four years if the Court finds it expedient with a view to his reformation and the prevention of crime, a person who comes under the second category may receive a term of preventive detention of between four and fourteen years " for the protection of the public " (Clause 19). In matters of detail this Clause is an improvement on the pre-war Bill : corrective training is no longer excluded for persons over thirty ; the use of preventive detention is less rigidly restricted according to the type of offence committed ; and above all, before a sentence of this kind is passed, the Court is to give the Prison Commissioners an opportunity of making their views known as to the offender's physical and mental condition and his suitability for such a sentence.

It is to be hoped that this provision will enable the Commissioners to develop for recidivists something on the lines of the machinery so successfully built up for boys likely to be committed to Borstal at Wormwood Scrubs and more recently at Latchmere House where social workers under the guidance of psychiatric and psychological experts collect detailed case histories for the use of the Courts and, if a sentence of Borstal detention is passed, of the Prison Commissioners.

Naturally, the compilation of good case histories is much more difficult

for men in their thirties or forties than for adolescents ; it can be done, however, by a well-trained and adequately equipped staff. The information thus collected will in time form the basis for research into the causes of recidivism—research which is overdue and indispensable for a revaluation of the success of different methods of treatment. Whereas some statistical material is at present available to show the rate of recidivism among ex-Borstal inmates and ex-prisoners—and even this is not detailed enough for scientific purposes—the study of the causes of recidivism has so far been almost completely neglected. In the debate in the House of Commons on November 28, 1947, Major Vernon rightly expressed his surprise that the Bill, in contrast with the National Health Bill and the Education Act, has failed to make any provision for expenditure on research into the causes of crime.* The causes of recidivism are no doubt among the most urgent topics for research, and the expenditure which it would involve would be very small compared with the improvements in the administration of criminal justice which it might bring about. The success of corrective training and preventive detention will depend not only on the methods of treatment applied in prison but just as much on the methods of selection used by the Courts. If, in the words of the Prison Commissioners, " the main problem concerns the Courts, and how they may be induced to use such statutory powers as may be available to them," surely, the provision of full and reliable information on individual offenders will do more than anything else to solve this problem.

With regard to the objects to be achieved by preventive detention, the present formula which mentions " the protection of the public " as the only aim seems to be too narrow. Reformation, explicitly referred to as one of the objects of corrective training, should not be omitted. Bearing in mind that preventive detention can be used for persons not older than thirty who, even if they should be detained for the maximum term of fourteen years, would still be in the mid-forties on discharge, the need for reformative efforts is almost as strong here as in the case of those who, because they may be younger and not yet so far advanced in their criminal career, are sentenced to corrective training. It may also be suggested that the recommendation of the Report on Persistent Offenders, that an offender who becomes eligible for a sentence of preventive detention should receive a warning from the judge and a written reminder on discharge from prison, should be incorporated in the Bill. Finally, it seems only fair that previous convictions which an offender has received before the age of seventeen—for juveniles the use of the term " conviction " is prohibited only if they appear before Juvenile Courts and not in cases dealt with by Assizes or Quarter Sessions—should be disregarded in Clause 19.

Already in my previous article in THE FORTNIGHTLY, special attention was drawn to the need for a reconsideration of certain aspects of After-

* *Hansard*, cols. 2346-47.

Care. If the Bill should become law, the present system of discharge on licence (the old " ticket-of-leave " system) will disappear together with penal servitude, and the former ex-convict who will now be an ordinary ex-prisoner, will as a rule, be discharged not on licence but unconditionally. This means that it will be left to his discretion whether and how far he will wish to place himself under the supervision of an After-Care Society and to avail himself of its services. There are only two exceptions to this rule : Under Clause 20, certain categories of recidivists shall, on receiving a sentence of at least twelve months, be ordered to keep an After-Care Society regularly informed of their whereabouts for one year after discharge. Moreover, under Clause 46 the Prison Commissioners may discharge on licence and place under the supervision of an After-Care Society a prisoner aged under twenty-one on reception and serving a sentence of not less than twelve months. This latter provision, it is submitted, does not go far enough and should at least be extended to prisoners up to the age of twenty-five, many of whom are no less than adolescents in need of guidance immediately after discharge.

The changes proposed in the Borstal system are partly on the lines of the pre-war Bill. Whereas at present under the Prevention of Crime Act 1908, an offender can be sentenced to a term of Borstal detention only if this is regarded as expedient " by reason of his criminal habits or tendencies, or association with persons of bad character," the Bill refers only to the offender's " character and previous conduct and to the circumstances of the offence " (Clause 18). The intention is to make a Borstal sentence less stigmatizing and to enable the Courts to use it for adolescents who have not yet developed criminal tendencies but may do so very soon unless firmly dealt with. It might be objected that for such beginners Borstal may mean the danger of contamination. However, in view of the very considerable expansion which the Borstal system has undergone in recent years—the number of institutions is almost twice that of pre-war times—and of the consequent improvement in classification, that danger is now considerably less. Another proposal, which was not embodied in the 1938 Bill, to reduce the maximum age for a committal to Borstal from twenty-three to the original limit of twenty-one, has found universal approval. On the other hand, the extension of the length of Borstal detention for absconders from Approved Schools to a maximum of three, instead of two, years is bound to arouse mixed feelings, particularly with regard to adolescents committed to an Approved School not as delinquents but as being in need of care and protection or beyond parental control. For this category, the use of Borstal as a penalty for absconding should be altogether abolished and replaced by improved facilities for classification and psychological treatment in Approved Schools.

With regard to Probation its clear and distinct separation from its much less desirable bed-fellows, " binding over " and simple dismissals, is most welcome (Clauses 4 and 7). The disappearance of the cumbersome

machinery of " recognizances " whose meaning is hardly intelligible to the average layman, will cause no regret, with the possible proviso that powers might be given to the Court, on simpler lines, to impress upon neglectful parents their share of responsibility for the misconduct of their offspring. The proposed setting up of special Case-Committees in addition to already existing Probation Committees is in conformity with the pre-war Bill. The strengthening of the female section of the Probation Service, the expansion of the training scheme for Probation Officers, and the special attention given in the Bill to the much needed further development of Probation homes and hostels—all this is certain to be warmly applauded. On the other hand opposition will be strong against the abolition of the present system of making Probation orders in Magistrates Courts without a formal " conviction ". As has been suggested by the present writer already with regard to the corresponding proposal in the pre-war Bill,* such a change is not necessary even from the point of view of juridical logic, as a distinction may well be made by the law between a mere " finding of guilt " and a solemn " conviction ". In view of the undesirable stigma and the legal disqualifications connected with a conviction—consequences which cannot be altogether prevented by Clause 11—the present position might better remain unchanged.

The desire for improved facilities for mental examination and treatment of lawbreakers hangs closely together with the growth of Probation. Although the Bill contains some important improvements in this field unconnected with Probation (for example, Clause 24 which enables Magistrates to remand an offender on bail, instead of to prison, for medical examination), the principal provision of this kind is Clause 4 relating to Probation orders requiring the probationer to submit to treatment for his mental condition. Of the many questions of detail which are likely to arise under this heading only one may be mentioned : the Bill, in contrast to its predecessor, makes no provision for the payment of expenses for medical examination and treatment, probably because it is assumed that under the National Health Service there will be no need for such provisions. Is it safe, however, to assume that the very specialized requirements of delinquents will be adequately cared for under the vast machinery of the new Health Service ?

It is gratifying to find that adequate provision has been made for the establishment of Remand Centres for cases too difficult to be dealt with in ordinary Remand Homes, although for the latter, too, some improvements are envisaged (Clauses 24, 25, 38, 39). If only it could be made clear in the Bill that such centres shall never be set up in prison wings !

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* *The Dilemma of Penal Reform* (1939).

ONE YEAR OF NATIONALIZATION

By B. L. Coombes

A year has passed since we stood under the flood lights outside our pit head baths and watched the blue and white emblem of the National Coal Board flutter wildly as the wind of that January morning discovered it. More than a thousand white faces looked upwards as our manager and the Lodge Secretary each made a very short speech asking for co-operation now that we were working for the nation. We cheered three times, then the first grey dawn of 1947 crept past the mountain crests and we clattered pit-wards for our first shift under nationalization. That was one year ago. How do we feel about the happenings of the year and the prospects for the future ?

It is beyond argument that we have gained many points during that period. We have now the security of full work and the certainty of a full week's wage—unless it can be proved that work was lost for some reason outside the Coal Board's control. To those of us who remembeed the years of irregular working and the continual returns from the colliery with no hope of payment this security means a very great advance. Our paid holidays have been extended from the one week ; now the Bank Holidays are included. The Coal Board now maintains the pithead baths and we are tenpence weekly better off. It is possible to argue that other professions and industries had all these advantages years ago. We did not, anyway, so they are certainly a great gain.

Then again, the five-day week has been granted and operated. During this last splendid summer this shorter week made a big difference to life amongst our mining valleys and to the health of the miners. Every Saturday was gala day and our folk found ways of enjoying themselves. The sports section was busy in the Welfare Parks, the dramatic and operatic societies caught up a new energy, the cycling clubs pedalled away happily and the allotments were more prosperous. When the emergency made it imperative that some Saturdays should be worked again the miners conceded it knowing the shorter week had been established and that the time will come when it can be enjoyed again. It should be remembered that all miners did not benefit by the five day week. Afternoon and night shift workers throughout South Wales did not gain one hour or one penny in pay as they had been granted the bonus shift (because of the inconvenience of the shift they worked) in the early years of this century. Nor is this bonus shift system so very popular, chiefly because it is operated drastically. Illness, no matter how severe is not accepted as an excuse ;

r again, a day shift worker who has a long way to travel may have to get rom bed at about four o'clock in the morning. Should he sleep late nce he has no hope of getting more than four days' pay. With double- ummer time it meant that he had to get up by two o'clock normal time.

Another gain is the recent wage increase, and it has been given without ne use or threat of strike action. Our last wage agreement was four ears old and a new one was due but it came smoothly this time. Of ourse, we expected a larger increase but most men seem ready to accept ne compromise. In this matter the complaints heard are against our aders, for they have repeatedly emphasized that the next agreement ould be framed to level up the unfair gaps between the high wages of a ection of the colliers and the low wages of the day wage and maintenance orkers. This has been the cause of continual and bitter controversy. It eems that the wide gap is still to be allowed and I expect complications o follow. Already it is difficult to get skilled men for the most essential obs of repairing and with this new all round advance the repairers and mbermen and other workers at maintenance jobs will continue to gitate that they be given a chance to do the better paid, and often less angerous and skilful, job of coal getting.

Totalling our gains we must agree that the Coal Board has tried to be a ood employer. One year is not long enough to undo the mismanagement nd neglect of a quarter of a century. Nor is it long enough to dispel the atred and distrust that neglect has left in miners' minds. I will not gree that hatred is too strong a word. In these valleys where everyone ves on or by coal the old control was hated as much as a conquered ountry would hate the invaders. The miners, the miners' wives, and eir grown children joined in this bitterness because of what it had done o their homes and their loved ones. Everyone who took an official post as condemned and this acted unfairly because there were decent men on ne managerial side and they had to work to limits. There were also ections of the employers who worked and hoped for a better feeling. I ound this better type of employer and feeling in the smaller companies nd in the areas where there were other industries and all life was not ominated by coal. In Leicestershire I found conditions so good that ny mates in South Wales would not believe my account of them nor ould the Leicestershire miners understand the way we felt towards our outh Wales employers. Had the large mining areas the friendly memories f managerial control which exist in Leicestershire and the smaller produc- ng areas the human problem of the mines to-day would not exist.

I think the Coal Board will in time reorganize the industry and set it on n efficient footing. They will provide mechanization and facilities for a fficient output . . . if they can conquer that past which is in the minds f the men. It is all very easy to suggest that the old wrongs must be orgotten and a fresh start made but the miners are interpreting this as a ery convenient doctrine for those who were on the other side during the

old control. They think that far too many of the men who served the old employers well have been given as good, and often better, positions under the Coal Board. They ask how can such men who prospered and were given authority under private ownership believe in nationalization of the mines ? They and their kind opposed it almost to the end, so the miners feel that these officials would not worry much if nationalization failed ; good positions would be waiting for them in any case. I attend committee and mass meetings and meet the workers at many collieries. Their complaints are very similar. You may explain that this is but a transitional period and that there will be changes again ; also that skilled administrators were scarce in the mining industry therefore the Coal Board had to appoint those who already had experience. The reply will surely be that it was understood the old control was wasteful and inefficient both from the industrial and the humanitarian point of view so, if that was true, why should its chosen disciples be allowed to act in this new method ? In addition, during this last year there has been a great finding of new positions and some extraordinary appointments. I am in close contact with a colliery in which one overman managed his shift and controlled the firemen and the workmen under him well. Things went along happily but in the last two months that part of the colliery has had two extra overmen appointed. One had not been under ground during the last ten years. Even if there was need for his appointment what modern mining experience has he ?

For a training face in another part where the young trainees were to learn their craft of mining and conveyor work it was found that two of the six men nominated as training officers had very little mining experience and neither had been underground during the last eight years. The workmen's committee intervened here. They also interfered when the manager appointed his own choice as Safety Officer, and brought a young man of twenty-six out from the mine to an outside job of clerking. The argument was upheld that this young man must return to a coal producing job and, in the Safety Officer's case, the miners argued that no man picked by the management was likely to be critical over the conditions in the colliery. That appointment was changed but the man got another official position at the same colliery. At the meetings to discuss working again on the Saturdays there was long and bitter controversy. Not concerning the temporary suspension of the five-day week but because of the feelings about the new appointments of Coal Board officials. At one the resolution was passed that : " Those new spivs that are walking about our collieries should be made to produce coal as well as us."

A fine car travels along the street of a mining village : " Hallo ", come the comments, " some of them Coal Board guys. Sure to be." The picture of a great house is in the papers : " Another little home for the Coal Board, I suppose," is the verdict even before the picture has been properly seen. The old stalwarts, the men who worked, dreamed and

:arved with the hope of nationalization ever before them, are subdued and isheartened. " Catch me ever voting for the Labour Party after this," is ıeir method of explaining what they feel. " It's become a racket—jobs ɔr the boys." It does seem to us that those who fattened on the private nterprise in coal mining have also done very well under this new State ɔntrol. The miner, except for the benefits stated earlier, remains still ıe bottom dog of his industry to be nagged and threatened when the utput is low and to hear others given credit for their organization when ıe coal starts to come out faster. On the other hand, this condemnation f Coal Board officials must have its unfair effect for I know there are some ·ho are sincere and eager to bring a fresh atmosphere to our industry.

Still, the old game persists as in the past, in payment of work done. In ɔ respect have the methods become any more straightforward. A man r a group of men is asked to work late to complete some job that will ıake it possible for the next shift to start coal filling. They work on alf a shift each and tell the official about it, just to be sure, at the end of the ·eek. He assures them it is all right. As a week's work is always kept ı hand it is the following pay day when that half shift should be paid but frequently is not paid. The man goes to his official who shows him ıat it is marked as worked on his time book. They then go to the mekeeper who insists that he has booked it in. Then the miner takes it ɔ his Union Secretary and, finally, when a deputation has gone to ɛe the manager it is reported that some auditor or other has been ı the colliery office and has crossed out various payments as not being ıthorized. The feeling of the miners can easily be imagined especially ' they remember what we are being repeatedly told—that those same uditors get more for one day's work each than we get for a week. robably the miner gets his half shift about a month later but he remembers ll this trouble when he is again asked to work on.

Apart from all other considerations these weekly upsets and interfernces prevent all hope of much better feeling and, of course, there are ıen who argue that it is a deliberate policy of indirect sabotage.

There may be a hundred similar cases to Tom Richards during this year ı the British coalfields. I expect there will be, but because Tom lived vithin sight of the house where I am writing, I am giving him as an ıstance. Ten years ago his colliery manager gave a special and written ɛstimonial to Tom's skill as a miner, his trustworthiness, and his mining xperience. Last May, still working in the same coliery, Tom was killed. Ie was the last of five stalwart brothers, all of whom had either been illed or disabled in the mine before they were fifty years of age. At the ıme of his death Tom had no one dependent on him but his surviving ·rother, a partly disabled miner, who saw to the funeral and had Tom ıken to the churchyard where he was buried alongside his relatives. Because of travelling it cost about forty pounds altogether. When the ısurance company were approached they refused to pay any more than

fifteen pounds " to cover medical expenses and burial costs." As I can prove, every effort was made to get more help for the disabled brother but fifteen pounds was the maximum.

Had this tragedy happened a couple of years earlier Tom's burial expenses would have been paid in full. He worked for an independent colliery company then, and they realized that the insurance payment was inadequate and so found ways of supplementing it. Of course they might not get more than one such case every year. It is easy to understand the attitude of the Coal Board for they must be prepared for many such cases and cannot do in one area what they are not prepared to do for all. The miners have another viewpoint. Tom was a good man who paid with his life for his devotion to his job. Yet fifteen pounds was his value at a time when more than that amount weekly is being paid to men who have received the bottom grade of positions under the Coal Board.

So the miners' union and the local leaders still have their full share of problems, amplified by the feeling that the central control of the Mineworkers' Union has taken it out of touch with the intimate problems of its members and that it is getting much too fond of sending directives to its members instead of allowing each Lodge to discuss and vote on any new development before it is accepted. Most miners realize that the leaders are in a difficult position for any definite action against the Coal Board is interpreted as being against the country and the people.

We have had the new scheme for settling disputes explained to us. So far we can find nothing new in it except that fresh names are used for the various lanes our disputes must wander along until they become lost. It seems the old formula of next week, next month, sometime—or never—will again be used for dispute settling and that must have its certain result in frustration and more strikes.

The Coal Board has increased the welfare levy and the whole system of Welfare seems progressive and energetic. National conditions prevent much new building but the miners' libraries are being filled with modern books, their halls are busy with discussion groups and their amateur societies have been enlivened by the visits of professional musicians and dramatic groups. The pit canteens are slowly getting into action in overcoming the initial handicaps and mistakes. Now we are quite as well catered for as are the local factories.

Consultative committees have been elected to replace the Pit Production Committees but few miners appear to consider this an improvement. At the start The Consultative Committee Ballots were not well explained or advertised so that the men did not understand how they would function. Voting and nomination were indifferent and those who were elected now complain that they have no real power and that the management side has the over-ruling vote.

Our output for this first year has been higher than many experts thought possible and surely much greater than seemed likely at any time during

the spring and summer. Recruiting, despite expensive and often silly propaganda, has not mounted. We have just managed to cover our wastage figures, with a little over. To the statistician this may seem quite satisfactory but not to the practical miner. Every man who goes out from our industry after twenty or thirty years of mining takes all that skill and experience with him. The one who comes in his place has to be taught, guided and watched for a long time. He will be a liability and his training will prevent an experienced mate giving all his time to production. I feel every effort should be made to keep the older miners at work for a year or so longer, even if they had to lose some time now and again and if their output were not so high as in their young days. I knew one English colliery where the amount of coal required was lowered as a man's age increased but his wage remained the same. No worker in that colliery was on piece work yet they had one of the highest and most regular out puts in the whole country.

Various journalists have felt it worth their time during this year to visit the mining areas for a swift and usually superficial survey. Some have stated their surprise at finding miners living as human beings and being students of economics and world affairs. They would have been wise also to have realized that miners have facilities for reading and remembering, for some of the extraordinary reports will condemn the writers in future wherever industrial workers confer.

This part of the country was very interested in the case of the commissionaire from the " Miner Comes to Town " Exhibition who was so convinced by what he saw, heard, and read inside the exhibition that he volunteered for mining work and travelled to Mountain Ash. There he found the true facts of the industry and, rather than work for three pounds a week less than he had at the exhibition, he returned to London. His photograph and an interview were well publicized in our local papers.

The men who wanted nationalization of the mines are not nearly satisfied with what they have got. They say that the miner is surely the man who knows most about coal and its getting—even mining engineers must work underground for some years before they can qualify. The miners felt that the whole problem of coal production would have been solved by making the managements and the men jointly responsible for working the pits and getting the coal into the trucks. After that, they felt it was the job of some other department. The miners had their Lodge Committees and their Production Committees all ready ; the managements had their equivalent bodies acting and between them they could have dealt with each pit in the best way that their years of experience warranted. I think the knowledge of being responsible would have encouraged co-operation ; there was a deal of happier and more friendly relationship at the beginning of nationalization.

I feel that instead of a wage increase there should have been a bonus on results for each colliery with each man being paid the rate his grade of

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work requires and the bonus being shared between all. They would all watch production then and would try to see that the pit and material were put to the best use. Their committees should be able to check any new appointments and have a say in whether they were justified or not.

We have rescue squads always waiting at stations in case of explosions. They can be at the required spot in a couple of hours. In like manner I would have a skilled arbitrator from the men's side, another from the managements, and an independent chairman waiting in each mining area. Wherever a dispute threatens, these men should be rushed there with full power to settle. If some action or cause brings the miners to an indignation meeting after or before any shift the leaders ought to be able to assure the men : " The disputes experts will be here before a couple of hours are past and they will decide." I think that assurance would check very many spontaneous strikes. As it is, the weeks and months pass in argument and evasion. The men stop work in disgust ; then they are told they must resume work before negotiations take place. If they will go back the dispute will be considered at once. Why should this old method of delay and annoyance be still allowed ? Coal is too valuable for such dilatory methods. The quicker a dispute is handled the better.

Coal is the corner pillar of our national life. We must have it if we are to survive as an important nation. It will only be produced by strong and skilled men working under unnatural conditions and in continual danger. Nothing will alter these facts. More machinery will help but that will never be a complete solution because many of our seams are not suitable and in some instances experienced men have produced more from hand cut faces than from machine faces in the same districts. In any case you will always have need of the miner. He will produce the coal because it is his job but he wants to be recognized as a co-operator in that production. He knows he is necessary, that the managements are necessary and that a controlling body like the Coal Board is necessary—but between the men at the pits and the Coal Board it seems to him that a new ' snooper ' class has jumped into authority, and flaunting that new power and authority more arrogantly than ever before in his experience. He will not work patiently under such happenings. He thinks the British public should insist that a re-assessment should be made of all those appointments. I know our union has a mass of protests in its offices about this and if public opinion does not stir the miner will once again feel it is time he showed his feelings, and that may mean a break in the flow of coal.

DENMARK TO-DAY

By Henry Baerlein

In the little town of Brande in the West of Jutland there is a simple memorial, an inscribed rock with a small garden round it, to one whom it describes as ' The king of the heather, our true friend ', and the inscription goes on to relate that Enrico Mylius Dalgas exhorted his countrymen, seeing that they had a diminished fatherland after the disstrous war of 1864, to make the best of what they had. This part of utland is one of the least fertile regions of Denmark. Heather and rocks used to hold the country in an iron grip, while the sand, swept in from the lunes by the prevailing west wind, did nothing to improve matters. nspired by Dalgas and with infinite labour and patience great areas of eather have been cleared, trees have been planted to arrest the wind and ow some 2,000 square miles have been brought under cultivation, the work being subsidized by the State.

What has been done by this resolute people in Jutland is typical of what the whole country has accomplished since the war. The Germans plundered it to an amount of some ten milliard kroner (about £500,000,000) partly by demanding exports without themselves providing equivalent mports—in other words a system of public and private looting—and partly by demanding that the country should finance the German army of occupation and its various measures, such as transport, fortification works, the purchase of various goods, such as huts, and the rent of hotels nd other buildings. (How delighted were the Danes when the buildings t Aarhus and elsewhere which were in the hands of the Gestapo were kilfully destroyed by the R.A.F. while adjacent houses were uninjured !)

Of the important European countries only Great Britain is more dependent upon overseas trade than Denmark. The steady rise in the Danish standard of living over the hundred years before the outbreak of he 1939-45 war was rendered possible only by the increasing mport of raw materials, with a parallel increase in the exports of agricultural and manufactured goods. Now of the 558 ships (1,100,000 gross registered tons) which constituted the Danish merchant fleet at the outbreak of war twenty-nine were lost before the occupation of Denmark in April 1940, while up to the end of 1945 264 ships (660,000 registered tons) were lost. If Danish shipping is again to earn such large sums in foreign exchange and provide so much employment—before the war 40,000 to 50,000 Danes were engaged, directly or indirectly, in shipping and the annual net contribution of the industry to Danish economy was

150-160 million kroner—it is essential that the merchant tonnage should be brought up to pre-war figures as rapidly as circumstances permit. What are the possibilities ? Raw materials are short, there is great pressure on the shipyards for repairs and there has been a very heavy rise in building costs. On the other hand it is satisfactory to know that Britain and the United States have now paid considerable, if not entirely adequate, sums as reparation for the losses incurred by the Danes when the vast majority of their merchant navy ignored Hitler's instructions and placed itself unreservedly at our disposal throughout the remainder of the war. It is satisfactory to hear, on the authority of Mr. Christian Harhoff, chairman of the Danish Steamship Owners Association, that Danish shipping is ready, through quality and efficiency, to maintain its competitive position. Nearly all those excellent passenger steamers which used to ply between Harwich and Esbjerg were lost in the course of the war, but one that exceeds them all in size, speed and luxury—the *Kronprins Frederik*—has been built and is proving most popular. At the same time the Danes on their inland waters have now no lack of excellent steamers and ferries. Some of them take whole trains, such as the huge ferries which cross the Great Belt—an hour's journey—and are perhaps the most luxurious in the world.

Even in smaller ferries between Denmark's many islands lorries and motor-cars are accommodated, while the passengers stroll about and partake of the Danish food, concerning which one is in danger of becoming lyrical. Of course the famous *smörrebörd* is not what it was before the war and at Davidsen's in Copenhagen it may happen that during some hours a few of the 194 varieties are temporarily " off ". At Davidsen's, by the way, no less than twenty-five women are occupied throughout the day in removing the shells from shrimps, for a *smörrebr"d* consisting of rows of shrimps ready to be eaten is very popular. These women become so expert that I am told they can all deal with four lb. of shrimps in an hour, which, considering the weight of a shrimp, is some feat. There are to-day shortages in the Danish kitchen—chocolate is very scarce, as are some other imported articles; on the other hand butter is plentiful and eggs can be had in any number. For instance, in Faaborg harbour I came across an ex-German yacht, now flying the Red Ensign. Her owners were two British officers and their wives who had bought the boat at Kiel before coming for a week's leave into Danish waters. When they returned to the British zone of Germany they had with them I forget how many dozen eggs and they could have had more if they had asked for them. Such things are so well organized in Denmark that not merely the farm from which the egg hails is known but the identity of the hen which laid it.

We were talking of the vessels on Denmark's inland waters. From towns such as Aalborg or Aarhus fine, large boats sail every night to Copenhagen and the same applies from and to the fascinating island of

ornholm in the Baltic. With hundreds of cabins at one's disposal this a pleasant mode of travelling. And on the inland waters where voyages re shorter the boats are always adequate. There is still plying to-day in ne lovely Silkeborg district of wooded rivers and lakes a steamer which ninety years of age and which remembers proudly that it used to convey ne jovial King Frederick VII with his two friends, Hans Andersen—who thought for a long time that his fairy tales were rather trifling affairs—nd Michael Drewsen, an enterprising person who established a paper actory at Silkeborg (it prints Denmark's bank-notes to-day) and thus is he founder of the town. On the roof of one of the local schools a stork sed to dwell, returning every year. When the Germans came to the own this stork disappeared, when they had to go the stork came back. But the prosaic explanation is not that the bird was imbued with patriotic Danish sentiments, it simply could not endure the noise made by the Germans.

Talking of schools, it is impossible to withhold admiration from the ystem under which scholarships are awarded at Copenhagen University. Practically without exception they are awarded for merit plus want and practically never for merit alone. Competitive examinations for scholar-hips are unknown. The most important group of scholarships is the o-called *Kommunitet*, which was established by Frederick II in 1569. t has a capital of about eleven million kroner and most of the interest ccrues, in various forms, to poor students, the greater part in the form of .oo scholarships of 900 kroner (nearly £50) each annually. This may eem an exiguous amount, but 103 of them are coupled with the right to ree residence in a hostel belonging to the *Kommunitet*. There is a Students' Loan Fund which lends money to students of the leading institutes of nigher education, chiefly to enable them to complete studies already begun ome years beforehand. The interest is three per cent. which is only about half the usual loan rate in Denmark. The absence of fees and the ow cost of living for students in Copenhagen make it possible for parents of modest means to give their children a university education. It often nappens that students whose parents do not live in Copenhagen or that neighbourhood club together and take a large flat and keep house.

At an earlier stage in their careers the young Danes are likewise catered for in a manner I have not found elsewhere and the Children's Library at Aalborg is, no doubt, an example of what exists in other Danish towns. It is externally the most attractive, since it is situated in the former post office, a picturesque red and black half-timbered house. Having been removed from its original site it has been joined to the Public Library and is available, without any fee, for citizens between the ages of ten and sixteen. They can either read the books—fiction and non-fiction, and hundreds of each category—on the premises or take a book home with them. But if they keep it for more than a fortnight they have to pay for every additional eight days the sum of one penny. The charming woman

who presides over this institution told me that in the long winter evenings the place is so well patronized that although there are only seats for twenty-nine readers more than seventy are often there, the others being quite content to sit on the floor or on the pipes of the central heating which encircle the main room.

But, you may ask, is there then nothing rotten in the state of Denmark? Great and successful efforts are being made to eliminate any flaw. Take, for instance, the scheme inaugurated this year by the Danish Tourist Association, whereby the hotel which caters for foreigners enjoys a corresponding advantage in the matter of rations. Thus if a hotel containing 100 beds has had fifty per cent. of them—that is to say 1,500 bed-nights in a month—it will receive for every foreign bed-night 400 grammes of meat, 100 of sugar, 100 of butter and fifty of coffee. If the percentage is between twenty and thirty of foreigners the hotel will receive seventy-five per cent. of the above rates, if it is between ten and twenty it will receive fifty per cent. and if it is less than ten it will receive no special terms. A hotel in a favoured position can run its kitchen better, which is also to the advantage of the Danes who stay there.

We in Britain are naturally much interested in the condition of Danish agriculture. The occupation had serious effects on the supply of fertilisers, the importation of phosphates being almost entirely suspended. Live-stock conditions were very difficult, a shortage of protein supplies specially affecting dairy cattle. Despite all efforts the output of butter has not yet reached the figure of 1939, though as a means of relieving the shortage of proteins during the winter there has been carried out to a much increasing extent the ensilaging of turnip tops. But the output of butter, bacon and eggs has not yet been restored to the pre-war level. However Danish farmers have been anxious to contribute their share to the solution of the international food problem. Plans were made for the relief of Norway before the occupation had ended and all was ready when liberation came, the supplies then shipped to the sister-nation being of the value of about £5,000,000. Assistance to the Netherlands amounted to £800,000, some thousands of Dutch children and hundreds of adults have been (and are in many cases still) spending several months in Denmark to recuperate after their period of starvation. The same, of course, applies to the Norwegians. The value of food parcels to the Netherlands is about £500,000, making Danish relief to that country second only to that of the United States. France, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria and Hungary have been similarly assisted, while 100,000 food parcels have been despatched to British soldier homes. They resulted in a stream of letters very flattering for Danish bacon and butter. " Danish butter is, I think the best in the world," wrote Lord Montgomery's mother. No British personage, save perhaps Mr. Churchill, is more generally popular in Denmark than Lord Montgomery ; the achievements of Britain, especially during the period when alone she withstood the grave menace to civilization, are

gratefully recognized, but it is only natural that a Danish farmer, who sells to us for four shillings what has cost him five and has the other shilling from his own Government in the form of a subsidy, is not sure that this can be continued indefinitely. He cannot help regretting that we cannot pay him a bigger price for his products ; he points out that if he buys from Britain a tractor he is told that the cost of it to the maker is a certain amount and that a reasonable sum must be added to enable the maker to live.

How are the people living and under what flag are they to live in South Slesvig ? Owing to the influx of German refugees from East Prussia the mixed population of this province has, if these Germans be taken into account, a definitely German majority. Until the future of these refugees has been settled—how many of them are going to remain permanently and how many are merely transient dwellers in the province—one would have thought that they should certainly not be given a vote and even more certainly that they should not receive appointments as officials. Yet both such measures have come to pass. But this has not necessarily caused them to vote in favour of leaving the province in Germany. Those who wish it to be allotted to Denmark do so from various motives : some of the pre-war population remember that in other days, the local Dukes being antagonistic to the Danish King, their suzerain, the German language was forced upon the people, who were influenced in such a manner as to make them feel more at home with German than with Danish culture, although the latter was that of their own ancestors. The shape of their houses, of their implements, of their shoes and so on remained Danish, and now, so it is being said, they have come to see that Denmark is their real home. The desire of others to have a Danish flag flying over them is due to the material benefit of adhering rather to a victorious than to a beaten country and has caused their critics to label them ' Bacon Danes '. These critics have small belief in the sincerity of such people, clamouring to-day for Danish schools for their children ; who knows, say the critics, whether in twenty or twenty-five years they will not be demanding that German shall be the language of instruction ? Let us wash our hands of this province, say those who follow Mr. Christmas Möller, the former Foreign Minister who managed to escape to Britain during the war—his resignation from the post of Minister of Commerce had been demanded by the Germans. Mr. Möller has now resigned from his position of leader of the Conservative Party in Denmark, because the majority of that Party does not agree with his very prudent views on the Slesvig question. He sees no reason why there should be any alteration from the frontier allotted to his country after the 1914-1918 war when North Slesvig came back to Denmark, after a plebiscite thus undoing the theft committed by the Prussians after their attack of 1864. Apart from the presence of the ' Bacon Danes ', Mr. Möller does not wish a perpetual grievance to be felt by a neighbour who will some day be

restored to the comity of nations and with a far larger population than Denmark's.

On the whole it would seem advisable to postpone, say for twenty or twenty-five years, the ultimate fate of South Slesvig, asking the people then to state their desires. But during the intervening period it would be no easy matter to administer the province. Its present administration does not seem to redound to the perfect credit of the British overlords, for it is surely unfortunate that Germans from East Prussia, not only because they may be transient dwellers there but also because East Prussia was not exactly a nursery of liberal ideas, should be appointed as officials. And to claim that the Danes in South Slesvig are a minority owing to the arrival of all those refugees does not seem particularly intelligent.

Over and over again in Denmark I have been astonished to observe the dissimilarity between Danes and Germans, although they share a common land frontier, and the likeness of the Danes to ourselves, in spite of the North Sea by which we are separated from each other. When the Germans during the occupation resolved once and for all to crush the spirit of the Danes they massed a great number of tanks in the main square of Copenhagen. The small boys would approach a stern warrior sitting at the wheel to ask how much a ticket for the show would cost. One evening Mr. Kai Friis-Müller, the well-known writer who has also translated many English poems into Danish, was discoursing on that subject over the wireless. He gave Kipling's words " Come you back, you British soldier " in the original and did not add the next words " Come you back to Mandalay ". All Denmark chuckled with enjoyment and on the following day a German officer arrived in a state of wrath at the broadcasting house. Were those actual words, he inquired, in the original and the full stop. Well no, he was told that the full stop was Mr. Friis-Müller's own idea. " Then we prohibit him from ever speaking again over the air," said the German. The Danes have a sense of the ridiculous which rings a bell with us, for even as the Scots are reputed to manufacture the stories in Aberdeen which libel themselves, so is it with the inhabitants of the peninsula of Mol, in the east of Jutland, a region that until recent years was rather remote. And so their backwardness was said to be their chief characteristic. When one of them complained that a stork was getting into his wheat-field and consuming the wheat he was advised to send in a man to drive the stork away, and when he objected that this man would trample on the wheat they recommended that he should get four men to carry the stork scarer. Then there is the tale of the men from Mol who wanted to drown an eel, which they took out to sea in a rowing-boat and, to mark the spot at which the deed had been accomplished, they made a notch in the side of the boat.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

By Frank Kendon

HOLLY hedges grow thick and close knit, tough, spiny, and painful. They can be five feet through and ten feet tall. Such a hedge immures you on all sides ; naked and knifeless and out of call, what are you going to do ?

Fear, cruelty, political theory, secret science, greed, suspicion, hate, seem now to wall in every serious thinking person. If we do not get out we shall die, figuratively, then actually. ' All men are mortal ' is true, with a subtle and tainted attraction. Imagination, seeing no way, cynically justifies inertia and so consolidates it, and nothing is done. In your holly prison it may well seem ridiculous to express the obvious : if there were no barrier, I could walk out. So, in this other prison : if men severed the life of all men there would be no war ahead, no threat to civil existence. That is obvious ; and your neighbours on both sides will laugh at you, not unkindly, for wording a truth so unpractical. Then, having laughed, they will turn away sorrowful, to do nothing, because nothing can be done. Still, if there *were* no holly barrier, you *could* walk out ; and if all men's hearts could indeed be the centre and mainspring of their hourly doings there *would* be no imprisoning fear of the future, no cruelty for a cause, no antagonism. That a truth is obvious does not make it unimportant. In holly prison your desperate situation would soon set your instincts to work. You would, if you were collected, break a twig of breakable size, break its neighbours, and those that these neighbours had knit with, and thus, twig by twig disarming the hedge, you would be outside, though not at once. In fact, as patient and humble action demonstrates, there was no barrier, except to speedy freedom.

Are you a sportsman ? When you go out with the gun and, as the result of a fine long shot, in some elation find that you have bowled over a running rabbit—I ask the most habituated shot, in all seriousness—when you go to collect this individual creature's carcase, and your hand grips the warm fur, or you notice the transparency of its ears, doesn't a swift regret for the vermin always, after all these years, have its part in your mood of justified pride in your own skill ? Sometimes as you gather up your creature you feel called upon to say to your companion : " Pretty things, aren't they ? " or some such throwing-off phrase. Cautious about giving way to tender feelings, we are not ashamed of them to ourselves, as we should be ashamed of greed or stupidity ; for we well know that all men—it is in their nature—share them in some degree.

This not unnatural and not shameable kindness of the sportsman's individual heart—does this, perhaps, contain a clue ? Shall we at length start at the bottom of the right ladder ? The counsel of perfection—loving God with heart, soul, and strength, and one's neighbour as oneself—cannot be put into action in any other way. No State can do this. Only heart can do this, and heart is individual.

Albert Schweitzer, septuagenarian, native of Alsace, a medical missionary at present doctoring negroes in tropical Africa, discovered for himself, as he thought, certain truths about civilization, about ethics, a great many years ago, when he had already shown himself on the way to a career of renown in theology, philosophy, and music. He has since written down his cogitations at some length, he has argued them searchingly, he has lectured about them. In all this he has followed the procedure of other hard thinkers, and no doubt he has made his converts. But Dr. Schweitzer's originality is, that he has, in a second chapter of life, himself deliberately embodied and acted upon his cogitated principles ; having generalized his philosophy to the utmost of his truth, he has thereupon, and for thirty-four years, individualized it and put it to the only available test. Having shown in his thought and books (what is now clear enough without either) how European civilization was on a dark, wrong road, he thought to wager in his own daily doings that there was still light and what might possibly be a right road. With his own fingers (he commanded no others) he began to break down our imprisoning hedge, twig to nearest twig. It seemed essential that someone should begin, however small, however real that beginning. If he had found a truth, who but he should act upon it ? It seemed to him the rational way. It seems so to me.

By what we deduce from his books—his gentle temperament—Albert Schweitzer seems to have been born a natural disciple of Christ ; but, equally fundamentally, he was born the questioner, the searcher who venerated finally only demonstrable truth. Even his religion (above all, his religion) he could not take from the professionals. His book, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, is the record of his unfolding (from the documents) of a kind of Christianity which seemed to him to be rational too. Being found, it then had to be written, offered for criticism. But until thought issues, somewhere, in action, it remains unreal. Generally the teacher labours in teaching, and the thing taught comes to action through his hearers. Dr. Schweitzer felt that he had to be his own practitioner.

When he is described as the founder of his hospital at Lambarene, it is therefore not surprising to see a photograph (there is one in Mr. Seaver's book* about him) of the doctor himself in act of planting the hewn timber piles of an extension of the building. " If you want a thing done, do it yourself " is a proverb often quoted with a shrug of misanthropy. It might well be a favourite saying with Albert Schweitzer, but without

* *Albert Schweitzer: The Man and his Mind*, by Geoge Seaver. Adam & Charles Black. 18*s*.

misanthropy. He wants civilization saved. He modestly but assuredly begins by saving it in himself. That is to be absurdly fundamental. But fundamentals make for soundness.

He wants Bach understood. He plays Bach's music himself, thinks into it, writes about it, gives public recitals of it. He has a conviction about organs, how they should sound, how they should be built. He therefore intervenes to save old organs, or to restore them on lines that he thinks to be the right lines. More ridiculably still, he traces, as he believes, the root of all ethics : man's inborn reverence—do what we will—for the principle of life ; and being as literal as the lovable Dr. Doolittle, before he drops the weighty wooden pile into the prepared hole, he is down on his hands and knees first, to extricate any unimportant toad which may have taken up its home there. (Seaver, p. 289).

Proud Naamans, the political theorists, have of their own the Abana of Communism, the Pharphar of World Government. Who is this simpleton who offers them the Jordan of a change of heart ? It has to be admitted that there are no signs of this little river overflowing its banks. Yet the problem of saving civilization by timetable looks to be too complex and too rash. World Government as the materialists see it can only save its own version of civilization by ruthless one-party methods, and what that means has been plainly shown in recent history. Dr. Schweitzer diagnosed a leprosy in western civilization long before it became a newspaper topic. But, born with an inveterate gentle heart, he could not consent to the temptation of fatalism. He first sought for causes, because a knowledge of causes must at least precede any rational cure. He found a steady modern degeneration in conduct of national affairs, which were less and less regulated by what had always been respected as an axiom of conduct by individuals generally—paramount respect for personality and for rights of the individual. He found a decline from reason. State action could be ruthless now because the normal human ethic did not apply. He knew, nevertheless, that man, by personal nature, was a rational and ethical being, to whose soul's health toleration and reasonableness were as necessary as food. The increasing fierceness of politics was robbing individual man of the power to be decent, and hence of his very appetite for kind and reasonable action. For material advantage, or the urge for it, we were selfishly piling up debts, denying for our own gain our natural duty to others ; exploiting life ; and the bankruptcy of civilization was following as it was sure to follow from this. Powerful and elaborate civilization, built upon suffering and injustice to less powerful classes and races, is dangerous, unstable, degenerate.

Led on to find by question, if he could, the origin and arising of ethics, he saw that man could not have deduced it from the universe, where good and evil seem to have no meaning ; he saw, too, that the goodness of God was not thus to be demonstrated, or that, if it were, then the cruelty of God was equally demonstrable. He was driven to conclude that our notion of

good came from the root, common to all, of a natural sympathy—the thinking life's natural sense of kinship with other life. " God is love," had, indeed, put it succinctly centuries earlier, and Dr. Schweitzer's ' reverence for life ' only extends the regions for the practice of the Golden Rule.

Looking not only into his own heart (but looking there without shame, nevertheless) he found that it was characteristic of all conscious human nature—even of the most hardened in some degree—to regard the possession of life, the capacity for suffering, as a fair claim upon consecration and sympathy. That this is true seems to me to be made evident in all kinds of unexpected ways, actions, and reluctances ; from the spectacular, when a party of men with ropes will rescue a dog or a kitten from cliff or quarry (always ' news,' as the journalist knows) to the minute but positive action when any casual passer will instinctively deflect his foot to avoid stepping upon a single new-fallen flower on the path. Much more, of course, when someone in difficulties is seen to be in need of immediate help, great or little. We say, ' it is only natural to help ' ; we recognize it as the mark of our nature. In this Albert Schweitzer would greet the root of our mysterious notion of goodness. In the benumbing of this or in the studied disregard of this on the excuse of some political advantage, he finds a prime cause of the degeneration of civilization. And therefore, to combat the growing disregard of it he would have men as individuals constantly and by practice re-assert the principle and strengthen it.

In small occasions frequently, as well as in rare and great, this individual instinct towards civilized conduct—a reverence for other life, altruism—can be continuously exercised—in forbearance, as well as in charity—until we never cause suffering unnecessarily.

Necessarily in the course of our lives, heaven knows, we must be the cause of much, because life lives by an enforced borrowing from lives. How solve this, this problem of necessitated suffering ? We can neither solve it nor reason it away ; it is foreign to our notion of the good ; we can only recognize its existence and in whatever small occasions are in our control, lessen it. Bringing the fact home to himself, Dr. Schweitzer, happy in his youth, in his upbringing and in his gifts of mind, owed all that, he said, to other less fortunate lives quite unknown to him. All the individual debts could never be discovered ; but since all life is to our deeper nature felt as a fraternity, the debt of one conscious life to all life was valid, and human honour bound him, he thought, to make what repayment lay in *his* power. To his fellows he issued no list of duties, but, recognizing his own, thereupon dedicated his life after the age of thirty years to the personal practice, on man's behalf as well as his own, of the doctrine of repayment. Music, friends, scope, social life, abilities—he enjoyed till he was a little more than thirty, and left them when he went out to build his hospital in a swamp in tropical Africa ; paying back, as

e conceived it, a small but positive portion for redemption of the honour f civilization so far—a debt which unrecognized is, he believes, dragging s down.

There is no organization behind him. His work has been supported y a few small groups in many western countries ; or when funds have nguished Dr. Schweitzer has returned at long intervals to lecture and lay the organ, to remind those who chose to be reminded of the needs f the work he now has most at heart. Mr. George Seaver's recent book the most comprehensive account yet given. It presents Albert chweitzer by first-hand acquaintance, by summaries of his own accounts f himself and his hospital, and it presents his track of thought y synopsis and quotation. It gives a number of personal impressions ; nd is itself evidence of a deep devotion to his subject in the author.

Dr. Schweitzer may be looked at as a thinker and as a saint. Thought is ontroversial by definition. Some professional thinkers will pass by his nought with a smile of toleration, as though he were an admirable fellow, onestly trying not to argue in a circle. There is still not enough of the old interplanetary air of detachment ; his desires are too active ; e may believe himself to be ready for *any* eventual truth, but he tends owards his favoured answer. " Those who restrain desire," says William Blake, " do so because theirs is weak enough to be restrained." ertainly Dr. Schweitzer had always been by nature passionately kind, erious and simple, and in this ruthless political climate, and in this ruthless vorld of nature, where the fittest not only survive but destroy the less fit a model for twentieth century ' statesmen '), troubled with questions, he onged and looked for a kind and gentle answer. " You can never *now*," seem to say our new-age philosophers, " you may only observe nd report and co-ordinate." And Dr. Schweitzer, too, was philosopher nough to know that we can never know. They had their theories, and olded their hands in dispassionate observation. He formed his theories, oo ; and unfolded his hands.

Can a sense of debt and of love to repay that debt, can gentleness as a onscious principle of life, ever hope to get humankind out of this rison of shouting and grabbing and cruelty in which we now find urselves ? So simple a remedy ? It seems impossible ; we are tempted o answer with a ' no ', though a ' no ' is no more justifiable than a yes'. There appears to be no magic to intervene for us, nor no political ormula that will set us free tomorrow or the day after. Plans that handle nen in the mass handle injustice, and seem to be not a right remedy. To orbear to cause suffering, to be fair dealers to all men, these things, easy o name and as obviously effective to the purpose as any other ideal, annot become universal practice by any compulsion nor according to any lan. Doubt may say they are no remedy because they cannot be largely nd immediately applied. But what can, immediately ? They can be pplied only in freedom, and only by units. Suffering certainly lies ahead,

an incalculable sum. It is in persons' power, by small degrees, by little and sure, to reduce that sum—though never to zero. Whether we argue or not, says Albert Schweitzer's life, let us at least *do*.

The principle of altruism is there in the human pattern. In it, distinctively human as it is, is the seed of the future for humanity ; our hope is waking there. With simple reason Dr. Schweitzer says, practice will strengthen it, practice however small or however great. Advocacy alone will not, but practice will. No sane man can see suffering and remain unmoved. Life suffers ; life is a fellowship. Not to harm, not to lend oneself to destruction, not to destroy where we have a choice (and we nearly always do have a choice) ; to help a life to live itself ; to pay back a grain of joy ; to spare and thus to bless—and to have a reason for all this—Albert Schweitzer only restates the Golden Rule, but multiplies the occasions and joins it to a great purpose. Not all men can relieve suffering in the African swamp ; but it is not to be despised now (as the heart knows) to spare the smallest fellow creature an instant of suffering, if that is possible ; until the mind which admits the tendency acquires the character.

For any reader who desires to know more about Albert Schweitzer and his thought and practice, besides Mr. Seaver's *Albert Schweitzer : The Man and His Mind* I would recommend *The Path to Reconstruction* by Mrs. C. E. B. Russell, and Dr. Schweitzer's autobiographical sketches, *Memoirs of Childhood and Youth* and *My Life and Thought*. Whoever encounters it there will find, I believe, a strange quality about the golden-rule-like ' reverence for life ' : that it is a private turning-point. It cannot but be acted upon ; it applies with equal significance to small actions and great, and makes with our own magnanimity (which we would not wish to deny) a chord, as in music, at once.

Yet simplicity of this heroic order leaves us smiling and a little baffled. (Why ?) Can it matter, one toad the more, or the less ? Measurably, no ; a dead toad does not matter. A dead man, then ? Again the answer—logic demands it—is the same. What is dead does not suffer, does not matter. But what remains alive—the conscious one who was thoughtless or ruthless, and became so, or became more so, in the act or the omission of it—*he* matters ; for the trend of humanity is in him, alive. So acts, whatever their outcome, are important. There is a cumulative force ; mind adds to mind ; the least neglect condones the little wrong ; the little wrong defends the greater ; mind turns to not minding ; so much ill exists which is clearly beyond our power instantly to stop, that we begin to excuse our absent altruism. But to care about the death or the pain or the deprivation of the least is the beginning of kindness—the beginning of the end of the reign of unkindness. Who am I that I dare to withhold my gift ?

ART FROM INDIA AND PAKISTAN

By F. W. Wentworth-Sheilds

'T is inconceivable that any western observer could visit the exhibition of Art from India and Pakistan without finding much to admire and enjoy. All true works of art have an aesthetic appeal which is distinct faint according to the sensibility and artistic experience of the beholder. o western eyes, a great deal of Indian art is immediately satisfying, but tisfaction is tempered with an uneasy sense that to admire in a purely sual way is to fall far short of proper appreciation and understanding. oser study reveals more and more clearly that the aesthetic criteria of e west have a limited application to essentially oriental concepts. It is le, therefore, to lie back among cushiony generalizations about art being universal language, and art knowing no frontiers, and the like. Sooner later, the edge of a sharp difference makes itself apparent and obliges a ange of attitude.

In his brilliant introduction to *A History of Europe*, H. A. L. Fisher rites : " Scholars may explain to us . . . . that the west has borrowed om the east, and the east from the west, and that the interpenetration of ast and west has been so complex, subtle and continuous that any attempt disentangle the European elements in our civilization from those which e foreign and adventitious, must be a forlorn enterprise. Nevertheless, ne broad fact remains. There is an European civilization. . . . . A vilization which reposes on an inheritance of thought, achievement and ligious aspirations . . . . A civilization to be distinguished from that f the Semites, the Hindus or Chinese." When the western observer dmits that he is part of a civilization distinct from that of the Hindu, he alizes at once that his western mind, shaped by a Hellenic cast of thought an do no more than touch the fringes of a culture which developed apart nd remained aloof from the influences of his own. Furthermore, the ndian background is so vast in its dimensions of time and space, so ewildering in its sequence of events involving so many millions of people nat the Royal Academy's exhibition in London can afford him no more nan the briefest glance at the tremendous scene.

The exhibition is laid out in such a way, however, as to invite the estern observer to enjoy with his eyes even though his comprehension e limited. The objects are well and thoughtfully displayed, and often eautifully illuminated with skilfully placed spotlights. The catalogue s so explicit as to merit the title of guide. There is, then, every encouragement to look and every assistance to a better understanding.

The curtain-raiser to the show is a collection of pre-historic antiquities excavated in Rajputana and the Punjab, in the valley of the River Indus. They consist of statuettes, ornaments and seals, of extraordinary interest and beautiful craftsmanship. They are attributed to a remote civilization which flourished in the third millennium B.C., but their connection with the main body of Indian art is, up to the present, a matter of argument and conjecture.

The exhibition really opens with examples of Buddhist carvings in red sandstone. They are the first indications of the great Indian tradition of sculpture. Most of these exhibits are decorative adjuncts to the simple architectural form of Buddhist stupas. Stupas, originally, were primitive burial mounds, but in the second and first centuries B.C., they became depositories to enshrine the relics of Buddha. They were circular mounds with a flattened top, and this hemispherical shape was adopted as a symbol of the Buddha's death and final arrival at a state of beatitude, or Nirvana. The mound was encircled by a railing punctuated by richly ornamental gateways. The carved details shown are from the railings and railing pillars. They are representations of minor deities, spirits of fertility, episodes from the life of Buddha and aspects of a simple, pastoral existence. All are instinct with an enthusiastic pleasure in humanity, animals, trees and flowers as delightful elements in a world of contentment and abundance. They are a free and decorative expression, uncomplicated by any distinction between earthly and spiritual values, of the Buddha's teaching that all men are equal and closely identified with nature in a universal scheme of things. In the middle of the third century B.C., Buddhism had been proclaimed the official faith of a great empire, and these carvings are, in fact, a version of Buddhism modified to incorporate traditional and popular cults and myths.

Following a campaign of widespread conquest, which brought the greater half of India under his sway, the Emperor Asoka was seized with remorse at the death and distress that his victories had caused. He repudiated all forms of war and violence and adopted Buddhism as the religion of his kingdom. To signalize his conversion and to promulgate his edicts, he caused numerous monuments to be built. Their construction is an important landmark in building because timber, which hitherto had been the material for architecture and sculpture, was replaced by stone. It is said that he was responsible for the erection of eighty thousand stupas. Few of them have survived. But the fragments shown in the exhibition are a fascinating indication of their form and style. To the same period belong other monuments known as Asokan columns. The mighty capital of one of these columns is shown in the central hall at Burlington House. It is in the form of a hump-backed bull, carved in sandstone and highly polished. Asokan columns were averagely forty feet in height, and their purpose was to carry inscriptions of the Buddhist-Imperial law. This exhibit has an apt dignity of design for such a purpose, both in its

cale and impressive sculptural qualities.

Examples of the culmination of stupa art can be seen in the limestone ow-reliefs from the Amaravarti stupa. Attributed to the first and second enturies A.D., they display a virtuousity of carving which, perhaps, was ever excelled. The intricacy of these many figured compositions, and he control of each design in all its complexities of pattern and rhythm is stonishing. But in spite of their superb handling, the simplicity of the arlier sandstone work is more attractive than the restless, teeming surfaces of these panels.

The period from the third to the sixth century A.D. saw the decline of Buddhism, or rather, its absorption into Hinduism. Evidence of this rocess of assimilation is found in the appearance of Buddha among the Hindu pantheon as an incarnation of the god Vishnu, and in the adoption f Buddhist legends as illustrations of Hindu principles. A superb xample of this period is the massive, bronze Buddha from Sultanganj, in ihar. The figure is impressive in size, in its still, aloof character and in he great, curving sheath-like form of the drapery that covers the slender, ormalized body. The face, with full mouth, short upper lip and large alf-closed eyes is strange and unearthly. The whole dark silhouette gainst the light stone-coloured walls compels attention with a kind of ramatic insistence. Weighing nearly a ton, it is a notable and interesting xample of metal casting. But the three finest bronzes are the eleventh, welfth and thirteenth century South Indian representations of the Hindu od, Siva, as Lord of the Dance. Slight and supple, these four-armed gures are beautifully poised in a flickering, circular setting. They are nique as portrayals of movement in sculpture. Their bodies are alive vith a strong rhythm which, because it is controlled and contained within he design is neither restless nor disturbing. Comparison of the three gures reveals a very close adherence to an idiomatic formula, but slight ifferences in modelling suggest that each sculptor had a small margin of cence in his method of treatment.

Confronted with these and many of the other single figure images in the xhibition, either anthropomorphic or theriomorphic, each one conforming o a rigid symbolism which gives every attitude, gesture, garment, fold r accessory a particular significance, the western observer is aware that he sole purpose of these sculptures is their employment as objects of evotion. It is almost incidental that they are works of art, for they vere certainly not created with that intention.

Sculpture is the predominantly important section of the exhibition ecause it represents the essentially Indian art. Sculpture and architecture, lmost merged into one, are characteristic elements of the Indian scene. 'ainting, on the other hand, was never so closely woven into Indian life s to become a widespread means of expression. Save for the magnificent Buddhist frescoes at Ajanta, there is little evidence to show that it was used xtensively as a decorative adjunct to building. At the Royal Academy

there are four galleries filled with paintings. They are representative of the Mughal and Rajput schools. The former originated with the Mohammedan invasions of Northern India in the thirteenth century. Originally derived from Persian painting, it was a dynastic art developed and encouraged by the Mughal emperors. In style, it is a combination of extravagant decoration and drawing of the utmost precision. In subject, it is devoted to scenes of court life, portraits, remarkable for their delicate and explicit definition, and drawings of animals and birds, recorded with sensitive observation. Rajput painting, far more varied in treatment, subject and style, is much nearer to a folk art. Many of the themes are drawn from popular legend and traditional stories. These pictures have an engaging and entertaining quality, a charming conventionality and most agreeable colour values.

The exhibition is rounded off with a diversified display of minor arts, carpets, textiles, glass, jewellery, jades and tiles, examples of the rich inventiveness of eastern design and of the quality of its exquisite craftsmanship.

When the western observer begins to assess the scope and diversity of the eastern man's artistic achievement, it seems to matter very little whether he can understand the full implications of what he sees, or not. At a time when his own inventiveness is numbed by a jaded, post-war inertia, a kind of listless resignation to the grey limitations of austerity, this display of teeming creativeness is stimulating and refreshing.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM

By John Armitage

THE tragic failure of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers is a reminder, amidst present forebodings, of the grim legacy which Britain and all Europe inherits from the nineteenth and early twentieth century conception of power olitics. The insulting accusations daily hurled at us by Russia, and the charge that ritain and America are inspired solely by imperialistic motives, strike us to-day, know- ng as we believe their falsehood, as unjust and malicious even when we endeavour to ook at Europe and the world through the eyes of a deeply suspicious power. Not all ne suspicions of Russia can be accounted for by the attitude of Britain and others to ne revolution and the U.S.S.R. in the years between the wars. Russia looks far ahead nd far back. She is a nation to whom Mr. Bevin's once-expressed wish for cards on he table, face upwards, does not appeal, especially as she probably feels that she now has etter cards to play.

But that there was a time when the charge of imperialism could have been laid at ritain's door and by Britons proudly justified is not contested ; it is now illuminated y the remarkable third volume of the history of *The Times**. This volume covers he years 1884 to 1912 : it will be followed in due course by a fourth taking the story to 935. The book, in spite of its great size, will be a disappointment to those whose chief nterest is in home affairs. There is nothing here about internal politics and the rise of he Labour Party, nothing about the beginnings of the modern structure of local government, nothing about trade unionism or the advance of elementary education, nothing, in fact, about the great seething of social ideas which has transformed social ife in Britain ; nothing even about the reform of the House of Lords. These are omissions and great ones from the story of a newspaper and they have the odd effect of making the editor, G. E. Buckle, a shadowy figure dominated at all times by the personality of C. F. Moberly Bell, the manager, and to a lesser extent by the heads of the oreign department. But the reason for the omissions is clear. One story had to be old, the progress of *The Times* throughout the period ; another, the part played by he staff of *The Times* in foreign relations was too important to be curtailed. Obviously t was foreseen that if *The Times* had a contribution to make to history it was in the detailed disclosure of its foreign correspondents' messages to that paper and the instruc- ions and advice they received. That this has been done with punctilious honesty and with no attempt to justify the actions of individuals deserves the highest praise.

The highlights of this volume are the chapters on General Gordon, Parnell and the Pigott forgeries, the Jameson Raid and the inquiry that followed, and the sale of *The Times* to Northcliffe. Those pages are full of story-book personalities, Gordon, Frank Le Poer Power—*The Times* correspondent in Khartoum, Houston who produced the

* *The Twentieth Century Test.* 1884 - 1912. The Times Publishing Co. 21s.

forged letters, Cecil Rhodes, Flora Shaw—so intimately concerned with the events leading to the Jameson Raid, Alfred Harmsworth and C. Arthur Pearson. These men and women spring to life, thanks to a narrative that portrays them not as actors on a stage but as human beings whose frailities, abilities and beliefs shaped events, the ends of which could not be foreseen. In Flora Shaw a correspondent who was unafraid of the responsibilities of opinion, and in Moberly Bell her confidant at *The Times*, faith in Britain's imperial mission was most clearly shown. They schemed for Britain in a manner outrageous to modern minds but to them justified and honourable ; nor did they fear war.

The outstanding contribution of the book, however, is the insight it gives into Britain's relationship with Germany and the growth of antagonism between the two countries. Politically in Britain the rise of Germany to the position of a leading continental country was first and foremost a matter of upsetting the balance of power ; in *The Times* office she was more often looked upon as a rival, whose intentions once clear were unequivocally opposed even if attempts were made from time to time to bring the two countries closer together. Valentine Chirol, correspondent in Berlin from 1892 to 1896 and later head of the Foreign Department, was at first partial to Germany but George Saunders his successor in Berlin, was implacably opposed to Germany's naval expansion and his messages earned him increasing hostility from the Wilhelmstrasse. That these messages played a big part in forming British opinion and in foiling the Kaiser's ambitious plans is not to be doubted*. Events, however, hung in the balance until the defeat of Russia by Japan made an accord with that country easier for Britain and *The Times*. From that date Chirol's policy towards Russia underwent a marked change, and it was Germany that was isolated.

How Moberly Bell managed to devote so much of his great energy to the imperial fortunes of Britain throughout this period is something of a mystery for he had other and more personally pressing problems with which to deal. Financially *The Times* was in a bad way. It was crippled in 1887 by the Parnell commission, a suit which cost the paper over £200,000, and from that time it faced years of declining sales. Moberly Bell with the encouragement of two American publishers, was quick to see the value of subsidiary enterprises which would bolster up the profits of *The Times*. An *Atlas* was produced, the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was reprinted and sold on " easy " terms and finally, after other ventures, " *The Times* Book Club " was formed. But profitable though these efforts were, some proprietors were far from satisfied that they were in keeping with the dignity of the paper. In the end Bell was nearly beaten but he displayed great energy when *The Times* had to be sold in baulking Pearson and helping Northcliffe, under the pseudonym of X, to be the purchaser. For Bell it proved an unhappy action. Northcliffe, as was soon proved, was incapable of giving *The Times* the independent editorial policy he had promised. He brought pressure to bear on the question of the ratification of the Declaration of London and for the " old gang " it was the end. Bell died of heart failure in the office in which he had sat during twenty-one years. A man of many parts he was to *The Times* the " colleague whom we all loved."

* On June 13, 1902 Bell wrote to Saunders after dining with Alfred Rothschild asking for a statement of his views, and informing him that the King had had a conversation with Count Metternich who had complained about the attitude of *The Times* and Saunders to Germany. In a long and reasoned reply, Saunders asked : " Are we to ignore the whole tendency of German policy during the present reign, are we to pass a sponge over every indication of German plans and ambitions and to range ourselves definitely on the German side.....? " And he concluded : " So far as Germany is concerned, we hold the keys to the Atlantic Ocean and indeed of all the Seven Seas. Let us keep them ! Germany is a parochial Power and, if we are firm and not foolish, it will remain so."

THE AFTERMATH OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS, by H. G. Schenk. *Kegan Paul.* 16*s.*

The state of Europe after the Napoleonic wars bears so many resemblances to its present predicament, though it was not then as materially devastated, and the attempt to erect a common government for the continent is so much in line with some current aspirations, that almost any book on the period 1815-1825 has fascination. Mr. Schenk's work does not lack it, even for the ordinary reader, but as a piece of general history it is disappointing. It is essential in sound historical writing for all the facts presented to bear close relation to a central theme. The trouble with many of Mr. Schenk's facts is that they are not so related. Further, although one can be said to exist, it is extremely difficult to discover the connecting thread of argument from chapter to chapter, and to this extent the book may be held deficient. He tends to lose himself in the minutiae of particular histories—the independence of Greece, the rise of the South American republics, revolution in Spain—and the effects of these events on the relations of the Powers and the Alliance idea are never sufficiently brought home.

In spite of this, anyone with a taste for history and an interest in contemporary European movements will be constantly struck by the appositeness of many quotations, which, indeed, are the book's strength. One valuable piece of material, offered for the first time to the general English reader, is the Czar's original draft for the Holy Alliance, before Metternich had made his amendments. The Alliance was an affair of monarchs and statesmen, and lacked the popular support and interest which the League of Nations attracted. But the Czar's conception of "three princes ruling over three provinces of a united Christian nation"—Russia, Austria, Prussia—is a classical expression of idealistic internationalism, as the many comments quoted upon it from Talleyrand's "ludicrous contract", represent the response of "realism".

The book's most satisfying endeavour is its discussion of the religious background. The future of Christianity, its importance in the individual life, as well as for the health of States and societies, were being debated by a number of notable men. The author's researches here supply most striking parallels for the opinions of those to-day who link the spiritual and intellectual disintegration of Europe with its loss of Christian faith. From men like Burke and de Maistre who eloquently defended religion as a mainstay of the State, to others like Jean Paul who indignantly refused to have the "sanctuary transformed into the State's cookshop"—we have their counterparts alive to-day. John Stuart Mill's description of "this age, in which real belief in any religious doctrine is feeble and precarious, but the opinion of its necessity for moral and social purposes almost universal" still has point.

The years after 1815 were a time, not of democracy, but of restored and nearly absolute monarchs. One remark of Francis I, Metternich's Emperor, to Austrian teachers has a cautionary ring. "I want not scholars" he told them, "but good citizens." Are not some of our educationists in danger of saying almost the same? It might be worth their notice that the Emperor continued his remarks on this occasion by declaring: "Whoever serves me must teach according to my orders." It is for backwaters like this, rather than for its main stream of narrative, that this book will be found rewarding to the ordinary reader.

WALTER JAMES.

NELSON, by Carola Oman. *Hodder & Stoughton.* 42*s.*

To assemble in a single volume—even in one that exceeds seven hundred pages—all that is known about Lord Nelson's life is a formidable task. It is difficult, therefore, to praise highly enough the hard work, scholarship and enthusiasm which Miss Carola Oman has brought to

this, the latest and best biography that the Admiral's memory has inspired. In her chief object as a biographer she is, beyond question, successful. Here is the life of Nelson, thoroughly investigated and ably described. And no other work of comparable importance has appeared since 1846.

Considered as naval history, this work adds little, perhaps, to what was already known or believed. Diffident of her technical knowledge, which must nevertheless be considerable, Miss Oman has not sought to improve upon received doctrine. For the campaigns and battles she has been content to follow Mahan, Corbett and Callender. But on Nelson's private life her research has been original and her judgment exceptionally sound. Excellent is her analysis of the family background and of the Lady Hamilton affair. Best of all, though, is the chapter dealing with the 'Twenty-five Days', the period Lord Nelson spent at Merton before that last voyage began from which he never even expected to return. In her chapter on Trafalgar, the book's inevitable climax, Miss Oman does justice to a great theme and ends fittingly with the lines :

> .....Dr. Scott was able to approach his first letter since the action. It was with a trembling pen that he addressed his sheet "Mrs. Cadogan, Merton Place, Surrey", and began to trace the words :'Hasten the very moment you receive this, to dear Lady Hamilton, and prepare her for the greatest of misfortunes.'

Going beyond 1805 in a final chapter, Miss Oman shows, interestingly, that Horatia, or Mrs. Ward as she became, lived to eighty-one and yet died still uncertain of her parentage ; which was not finally proved until 1893. Long before that, however, the pensions tardily awarded to her children in 1854 were the proof that the facts were, in government circles, common knowledge.

Where so much has been done so well it may seem invidious to complain of small omissions and errors. But in what must be a standard work, of which the first edition is already presumably sold, the opportunity may arise for amendment. When it does, a recourse to the Captain's Logs of the *Hinchinbroke*, *Albemarle* and *Boreas* would add a little to what is known of Nelson in his early years. They show, for example, his strictness in command—he punished his carpenter once with eleven lashes and a quartermaster with twenty-three. Neglect of duty, mutinous language and disrespect to an officer he dealt with most severely.

The *Albemarle's* Log (1781-1783) contains, incidentally, an episode which biographers have so far agreed to ignore but which illustrates, nevertheless, his readiness to assume responsibility. The scene is at the Nore and the date, October 29, 1781.

> At 11 got within hail of the *Haswell* and Ordered her to come to an anchor but she having all her men on board would neither admit the Boats to board her or bring too untill we compelled her by firing 26 Ninepounders and one 18-pounder shotted at her. We likewise brot to three others and anchored alongside the Headmost in 5 fathom Water. At 5 A.M. Weighed and Run alongside the *Haswell* the people having refused to be Imprest and threatened resistance but finding the *Albemarle* yard arm with them, they submitted. . . . .

The firing of two broadsides into an East Indiaman off Sheerness was drastic treatment even for those days.

Of actual errors in this book, there are few indeed. But it might some day be thought proper to modify the statement on page 169, that "smoke from the gunfire had now produced a perfect calm."

C. Northcote Parkinson.

MYSTICISM IN RELIGION, by the Very Reverend W. R. Inge. *Hutchinsons' University Library.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

"It may be doubted whether a very old man ought to write a book, even if he is asked to do so. I cannot expect that the critics will be very kind to this my latest piece of authorship. 'He has said all this before, and said it better. He has no sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of the young. When he looks towards the future he sees only the approach of another Dark Age.'". Thus Dr. Inge writes as the first words of his new book and I quote them not as

an example of the humility of a great scholar—though they are that—but in order that at least one critic may give them a decided negative. This is a very important book indeed and that it may drive the younger generation of readers back to the author's earlier works, especially *Christian Mysticism* and *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, is of secondary importance only. It demands to be read in its own right, partly because of what is new in it—Dr. Inge's examination of the Orthodox mysticism of Berdyaeff and Frank—, partly, precisely because it is the work of " a very old man ", with its mellowed wisdom and balanced judgment, and partly because of its Christian optimism.

After being known for at least a generation as ' the gloomy Dean ', and criticized on that account, Dr. Inge has survived into a new generation which reserves its amused contempt not for him but for his critics. It is they, not he, who have been proved wrong and all his scorn for the philosophy of ' escape by futurism', the liberal utopias of secularized optimism, is shared by the young who assume the imminence of an epoch considerably darker than the Dark Ages. Because even in the hey-day of the gospel of materialist progress, he insisted that its conventional values and assumptions were false when judged either by theology or by history, by Christian revelation or by the observed effects of the time-process, he has now come into his own ; and because then, as now, he held fast to the basic Christian philosophy that " here we have no continuing city " and that the clue to Nature lies in super-nature, he has a word of hope in the surrounding despair.

It is to his treatment of the Orthodox mystics of to-day that those familiar with his earlier work will naturally turn. Unsurprisingly, he hails Frank's *God with Us* as " a gem of the purest water ", while at the same time calling attention to the central weakness of Frank's approach. He doubts " whether Frank quite realizes that the certainty which he enjoys is not given us to start with, and is not given to all good people " and he insists, quite rightly, that " the mystical sense is no criterion of our acceptance with God." As for Berdyaeff, he quotes, with substantial approval, his analysis of the difference between Orthodox and Catholic mysticism—that the former tends to emphasize the Holy Spirit where the latter is more Christocentric—but fails, perhaps, to give full weight to the implications of the Western approach.

Dr. Inge sees, indeed, what Berdyaeff explicitly warns, that the Orthodox approach may, without a firm theological basis, shade off into " an impersonal and undifferentiated love " which is really Hinduism. It is, in fact, exactly that danger which besets the popular mysticism of the Hollywood school of Huxley and Heard at this moment. Many of us, rightly or wrongly, are convinced that it is only the Christocentric emphasis of the West which will guard contemporary mysticism for Christianity ; and are thus prepared to accept what may sometimes seem an indefensibly rigid conception of the nature of the Church as the Mystical Body and of the unique relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Visible Church. As a Christian nurtured in the Western tradition, Dr. Inge would undoubtedly agree with the end ; but it is the last paradox of his position that he is still critical of the mightiest of the means. For his one blind spot—if one may say it kindly and with no controversial intent—is still the Roman Catholic Church.

HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON.

WORDS IN ACTION, by Sir Philip Hartog. *University of London Press.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

All who knew the late Sir Philip Hartog will recall how deeply he realized the importance of the English language. His experience in India, and his interest in Palestine had taught him the vital rôle of English as an international medium. His vast knowledge of the educational problem in Great Britain at all stages had convinced him

that the English people treat their language scurvily and that adequate teaching of the mother tongue is the most essential basic training for citizens in a democracy. "With words we govern men," wrote Disraeli, and that phrase is the motto of this volume into which Sir Philip had crowded the fruits of his life-long investigations. As one turns these pages one can see again, that small, untiring figure, relentless in the pursuit of an argument, courteous, but insistent that cant should be eliminated, rhetoric kept disciplined, and reason given an opportunity to be heard.

Sir Philip Hartog produces formidable evidence to show how inadequate is the control of English among many school children, and how dangerously near a number of them are to illiteracy. Fortunately he was not prepared to leave the matter with mere denunciation of the present situation. For half-a-century he had been constructing a system through which English could be taught. He had always violently opposed the schoolboy "essay" as an exercise. "In my view", he wrote, "the very form and ease of the essay by a Steele or a Johnson, a Hazlitt, or a Lamb, imply a knowledge of life and an authority to which the school-boy cannot pretend."

In place of the mechanical imposition of the essay Sir Philip Hartog devised a series of exercises, imaginative in conception, and Socratic in principle. With the courage and practical vision which always emanated from him he carried these into the class-room and tested them by the only experience that counts. He taught boys and girls to increase their vocabulary because they needed more words for the purposes they had to express, and further he trained them in self-criticism, so that they could examine what they had written or what they discovered on the printed page.

Before Sir Philip's conclusion he returns to his attack on the public examination systems. He reminds us of how his experiments showed that the same examiners would after an interval of five months give entirely different marks to the same scripts. "My Committee", he adds, "came to the conclusion, on the basis of the evidence, that the term 'literacy' as applied to work of this kind has no meaning sufficiently well recognized to be effectively used in judging the scripts of candidates."

The English language is our greatest national possession, as it is indeed our greatest "invisible" export. It would be a tribute to Sir Philip's memory and also serve a most practical purpose if some Society could be formed to carry on the work which he so forcefully initiated.

B. Ifor Evans.

PORTRAIT OF EDITH WHARTON, by Percy Lubbock. *Jonathan Cape.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

There are only a few books published in any one year whose opening paragraphs inspire the reader with instant confidence that the author has chosen the right subject for himself and has unhesitatingly found the right manner for the subject; that he is distilling out of a matured plenty instead of putting together material hastily scraped up for an *ad hoc* purpose; that, in fact, he has produced a vintage book.

Mr. Percy Lubbock knew Edith Wharton, and her friends. He had been a spectator at more than one of those brilliant "first nights" when she "flashed upon England", and sitting between Henry James and Howard Sturgis "all alive, easy, and active in repose", she listened and talked, and "seemed to bring a great deal with her, and to occupy space about her as one well used to space." What she brought was the world, and "the old everyday life seemed to vanish as she took possession."

She had not very much to say to Mr. Lubbock, the young man "believed literary in his aspirations" who watched her from the background. He was shy and she did not know what to do with shy people. She lived on the crest, she was offered so much of the choicest and took it so easily as a queen taking her

due, that she had no time to look for anything which grew under the leaves. He did not help her to find him. He felt the approach to her too public, and did not want to " go faltering up the red carpet " but he watched her with an eye admiring, enchanted but not dazzled. There is a touch of irony in his homage. Perhaps all the more because he was not drawn right into the circle he is able to recreate for us not only Edith Wharton as a figure, even in private life a figure, but her world, the distinguished world of the aristocracy of taste and letters in which she moved with the grace and confidence born of her vitality and of her tradition. She seemed to have it every way this lucky woman, a writer whose writing never worried her and was always kept in the background, and yet went so well. Mr. Lubbock does not reveal her private heart ; it was not often shown. She too, surprisingly, was shy, and except for that almost irrelevant novelist's gift lived mostly in the external world.

Mr. Lubbock does not only hold up his own mirror to her ; he catches her reflection in the eyes of her own countrymen ; of England and France and Italy. He shows her as the chatelaine in the American country house whose beauty and smooth running was another of the works of her creative energy, and he shows her as a travelling companion devouring every new sight and sound. Music itself did not interest her till late in life when she discovered it in a way which must have been maddening to any musician in her company. She appears sometimes a little heartless, but this is the only glimpse of her as ' phoney '.

It was like her quick moving nature that at the outbreak of the 1914 war she should turn at once to vigorous service ; perhaps like her too that with all her acute sympathies and ardent wish to help she should have produced an impression of never quite grasping what war really meant. It was very like her to be one of the first to pull herself out of the war mood, to start writing again while others were drawing breath, and to rebuild a civilized peacetime life in the Pavillon Colombe. There, an old lady, still gracious and graceful, still holding court, still talking, she died and, with a friend's brief glimpse of her a few days before her death, Mr. Lubbock closes a book rare in its accomplishment and in its power to perform exactly what it sets out to do : to paint a vivid picture not only of a remarkable woman but of a vanishing world.

LETTICE COOPER.

THESE FROM GOD'S OWN COUNTY, by S. L. Bensusan. *Routledge.* 15*s.*

Here is another large collection of short stories by Mr. Bensusan, whose articles on country matters will be known to readers of THE FORTNIGHTLY. Mr. Bensusan's territory is the Essex marshlands, and to his varied studies of the field-workers in this part of England he brings a lifetime of loyalty to the district of his predilection, and a detailed knowledge of the regional dialect.

In a short introduction to this book

ALL THE CONFERENCES ARE FAILURES. THIS IS INEVITABLE FOR HOLY SCRIPTURE DECLARES THEIR FUTILITY IN THESE WORDS:—

" Associate yourselves, O ye people and ye shall be broken in pieces. '

" Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand."

"LET GOD BE YOUR FEAR, AND LET GOD BE YOUR DREAD." (Isaiah viii.)

"And it shall come to pass, that WHOSOEVER shall CALL on the name of the LORD shall be delivered." (Joel ii. 32)

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Mr. H. de Vere Stacpoole writes: "I keep Bensusan on my bookshelf beside Hardy." It seems to me that the comparison here is quite spurious, can only alienate the reader and perhaps blind him to Mr. Bensusan's more modest merits. It would be a matter for wonder and praise indeed if Mr. Bensusan had anythink like the poet's (and greatest countryman of his time) creative vigour, to say nothing of lyrical impulse. To the reader who may not have heard them broadcast, many passages in these stories are written in a style that is too unselective, with rather heavy irony and laboured reference, as for example this from "Mrs. Springbone and the Bullfinch":

> Mr. Mace expressed the view that since it suited Jessie and suited him, it was the only possible one. Perhaps he did not put his case tactfully; he is a common man enough with crude ideas about individual rights that are probably quite unsound. It is true but irrelevant to the issue that when the idea was first mooted, Jessie had implored him not to let her go away, adding, "I'd leifer you threw me down th' owd well, Dad." Then he had assured her that she should never be taken from him, "nit f'r Mrs. Springbone ne yet f'r a dozen sech" though it is only fair to point out that Providence in its kindness has not even duplicated the lady in the Marshland area; mercifully she is unique.

And later on in the same story:

> After a brief spell of striving and unrest the bird reconciled himself to captivity and even allowed Jessie to feed him. He would pipe as loudly as though in some earlier incarnation he had learned what Theocritus has written about soothing sorrow with song.

But many of the stories are entertaining, true to life even if they lack creative warmth, and carefully constructed. They are both grave and gay, and treat of a great variety of subject from the duplicity and cunning of poachers and keepers to the love of woodland trees, the killing of vermin, the drunkenness of a frightened carpenter and the disappointed wiles of a young lady. Of the tragic stories I liked particularly "Woodland Calling" and "The Beaver" which stay in the mind. But while reading other stories such as "Young Love" and "Mr. Cant's Adventure", good though they are, I was unable to forget the far greater dramatic punch and lyrical passion of Mr. H. E. Bates's country tales. All the same Mr. Bensusan's work gains in value when we reflect that he writes of ways that are quickly disappearing before the hand of progress. This book is pleasantly illustrated.

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

MUSIC FOR THE MULTITUDE, by Sidney Harrison. *Michael Joseph.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Yet another book on musical appreciation! Why has it been produced and how does it differ from other books which attempt to explain music to the ordinary listener? The answers to both these questions lie in the fact that most other books on appreciation confine themselves to the period from Bach to Brahms, or the slightly more extended period from the Elizabethans to Elgar, relying very largely for their interest on biographies of the great composers. The present volume, however, starts with the music of the ancient Greeks—what little we know about it—and takes the development of the art through the middle ages to the present day in relation to the social history of the times. We see the medieval conflict between music and the Church; opera as the child of the Renaissance; Bach composing in the atmosphere of the Lutheran Church; while Handel settled in London and enjoyed the advantages of a growing Calvinistic industrialism ("Calvinism evolved from a religion of militant Puritanism into one that encouraged the gaining of wealth, provided that it arose from the exercise of such Christian virtues as thrift, sobriety and industriousness"): Haydn and Mozart serving the princelings of a dying aristocracy; Beethoven's sympathies with the French Revolution, and so on, right up to a short Epilogue on music during the war under CEMA and ENSA.

The teaching of this book is not only of history but of the bones and sinews of music itself, with illuminating chapters on Scales and Modes, Notations, Counterpoint, Rhythm, Harmony, Fugue, Form

and Orchestration—illuminating because at every turn the author has the happy knack of explaining the musical idea in simple language illustrated by some simile from everyday life.

To cram a thousand years of music into some three hundred pages implies a certain amount of condensation and the author sometimes makes a sweeping statement where a point is open to debate. For instance, he says : " Few people can muster any interest in obsolete instruments. A superseded type of instrument is not like an old piece of furniture —it is not an admired antique that can still be usefully employed, nor does it give ideas to the craftsmen of to-day . . . Only a few enthusiasts gather to hear performances on a consort of viols or on recorders and clavichords." How then does he account for the keen competition whenever genuine old instruments appear in the sale room, the enthusiasm whenever they are played, not merely before audiences of " enthusiasts " but to school children and at ordinary concert-giving clubs, and does he realize that at least four makers of these instruments have as many orders as they can handle ?

However, this is a book " for the multitude " and it goes far beyond the realms of Tschaikowsky, the *Unfinished*, " No. 5 " and Rachmaninov—the multitude's reputed horizon.

EDGAR HUNT.

FROM TYRONE TO THE TEST, by James Dickie. *Seeley Service.* 15*s.*

The title of this book suggests one of those rare but delightful collections of angling reminiscences but, although there are good stories with a hint of both Tyrone and Test embedded in them, it must inevitably disappoint if approached for the virtues its title would appear to hold. In reality it is a book of instruction, and the author's own intention may perhaps give some glimpse of what he has aimed at : " In this book I am trying, first of all, to give the reader a general picture showing how a trout behaves and why, then to tell him of the pitfalls into which I myself walked."

There is no doubt that the author has carried out this intention to a degree, but in plain truth the result suffers the almost inevitable fate of articles written for the press when collected together—it fails to make a real book. A feature prevalent here that seems to owe its derivation from this sort of source is the faintly irritating preponderance of paragraphs that are just too short in some of the chapters. In a newspaper an article, which at first sight an editor might feel could not appear as written, can be made more palatable by splitting up paragraphs to form shorter ones. But this device is rarely attractive in a book, where a perhaps more serious study on the reader's part can be expected. In addition there is always a difficulty in creating a continuous thread throughout such a volume and here the author seems to have failed to overcome it.

In spite therefore of the object and scope of the book as it stands the outcome for the reader may well be that of the author's own quoted experience : "When I was young, I read all the books on fishing which I could lay my hands on, and the more I read the more confused I got."

But all this, which on reflection seems ungenerous enough, is not to say that there are not excellent and highly interesting things to be found in this book. For one thing the author's knowledge of flies is vast, and both in his treatment of tying and choosing the fly there is much that is original and stimulating. In particular too there is a quite fascinating chapter designed to throw light on the optical delusions—what fish see— which form a fundamental factor in the problems of fly-fishing. And the illustrations are numerous and excellent.

J. F. BURNET.

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BOOKS ON THE TABLE

In a sad and beautiful book (published in 1943 and so soon forgotten) André Maurois writes of " the most infallible taste " of André Gide who, in 1922, at the Abbey of Pontigny and elsewhere, gave words of wisdom to the young writer. How wide has been the influence of this man on French thought and literature, and indeed on world letters, may be judged in part by The Journals of Andre Gide : Vol. 1, 1889-1913, translated from the French with an Introduction and Notes by Justin O'Brien (*Secker & Warburg.* 25*s.*). The period covers only the years of his life from the age of nineteen, yet his quality as scholar, artist, critic and individualist is already established here.

The Introduction of the Professor of Contemporary French Literature at Columbia University is naturally more than a biographical study. He weighs his subject's merit as a stylist, revealing something of the huge effort of pruning and polish ; he goes to the heart of the intention in all André Gide's work—the devotion to truth, the problem of " being free "—, and corrects the superficial impressions of those who have not heeded the caution that " under the obvious poison I took care to hide the antidote." No praise is too high for the easy translation and careful research—the thirty pages of the Glossary of Persons contain the relevant facts about some 400 of the philosophers, artists and statesmen alluded to in the journals, the works of André Gide are exactly classified, the index should satisfy the most diligent inquirer—and this first volume makes the reader wish time away until the second and the last are published. Obviously Justin O'Brien loves the man, with the " samurai's face " of M. Maurois' perfect description, as he loves the labour.

" Glad did I live and gladly die "

Another who obviously loves her subject is Lettice Cooper, who in Robert Louis Stevenson (*Home & Van Thal.* 6*s.*) has revivified that always entrancing story. One of the most potent attractions of this book is the simplicity, the straightforwardness of the portrayal. Miss Cooper has none of the impertinence, nor the rashness, of modern biographers who, by giving imaginary expression to the great man's thoughts, instead of ennobling so often belittle. Least of all does R.L.S. need refurbishing, and anyone coming freshly to him through her study must surely make the same delighted discovery as Henry James : " Character, character is what he has ! " Those who greet Stevenson's books as old friends, who never cease to reverence his passion for craftsmanship in writing, and who still cannot contemplate his life without emotion, will be grateful for this new biography, for the trouble Lettice Cooper has taken in devoting some of her chapters to the telling of his tales, and for her care in assessing their place in his literary development.

Lebensraum

Flora Shaw and Sidney Colvin were two who felt apprehensive about the effect on R.L.S.'s literary work of his obsession for Samoan affairs. W. K. Hancock has not thought the happenings of an even more remote island too " exasperatingly petty and obscure " to serve as a parable for these times. Politics in Pitcairn (*Macmillan.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) gives its title to the first essay in this collection and recounts the history of the peopling of the island by the *Bounty* mutineers. Through savage totalitarianism they imposed the rule of law and became eventually a most pious and self-sufficient community. But with the coming of a few ships the longing for wider horizons invaded the breasts of the Pitcairners, increasing population made them covet more elbow room and, as Professor Hancock says : " Utopias will not always bear transplanting ". It is not surprising that the next piece is called " Machiavelli in Modern Dress." The implications of this book, which work their way through " Maps for Politicians ", " England and Australia ",

"Italian Métayage", "Economic History at Oxford" to "A Note on Mary Kingsley", provide so many stimulants to thought that it is hard to put it down before the last words have been read:

> She desired to conserve what was sound in native custom so that it might.... achieve ... a new and stronger life, different from the past but continuous with the past.

Fiction, tall and short

Which brings us to another parable, this time in the form of a novel, so serious in purpose and so wittily written that it is recommended as much for these reasons as for the success it achieves purely as a good story. THE PREVALENCE OF WITCHES, by Aubrey Menen (*Chatto & Windus.* 9*s.* 6*d.*) is concerned with the backwardness of a part of India, evidently well known to the author, where "Catallus"—as clear cut as the bust of his Roman namesake—and the newly-appointed education officer discover that their western idea of morality is an incongruity. The title conveys precisely what the book is about and to reveal further the fantastic, yet quite credibly related result of their conclusions (or conversion) would be unfair to a writer whose first novel this reader sincerely regards as one of the signs that the art of fiction is still capable of emerging from wartime stagnation——The short story continued to hold its own unabashed and nowhere more so than in France. FRENCH STORIES FROM NEW WRITING, selected and edited by John Lehmann (*John Lehmann.* 8*s.* 6*d.*) is a representative group which might well be used to illustrate the influence of André Gide on such men as Jean Giono and Antoine de St. Exupéry. Unhappily the development of Paul Nizan and Louis Clamorgan, also dead in battle, can only be speculated upon. Jean-Paul Sartre was of course comparatively unknown when his two short stories here were originally published. For the rest, there are André Gide himself, Jean Cassou, André Chamson, Louis Guilloux and Noel Devaulx, and one and all have been fortunate in their translators.

A lazy man's thoughts

Joseph Joubert has been fortunate in his interpreter, Joan Evans, who in THE UNSELFISH EGOIST (*Longmans Green.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) has now assembled the mass of papers left by him, with the help of André Beaunier's compilation of the notebooks and a list of publications which make an impressive bibliography, into a delightful 'life'. The book will spread the wider fame that Joubert's originality of thought and unconventional judgments deserved. In Miss Evans' own words:

> When Joubert died in 1824 he was known to a small literary circle in Paris as a critic of the most delicate sensibility, who published nothing; to a wider academic world, as the most disinterested of school inspectors; and to his neighbours at Villeneuve as the kindest of friends.

In her hands he comes to life in all three spheres, a man who lived quietly through the French Revolution and the years of upheaval that immediately followed, and one who counted Chateaubriand, Diderot and Fontanes among his friends.

London pride

One of Fontanes' letters to Joubert, written in 1785, gives a vivid picture of London which he says is "full of thieves", apparently on hearsay. Sixty-six years later Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* was published and Stanley Rubinstein has now collected from it the material for THE STREET TRADER'S LOT: LONDON 1851 (*Sylvan Press.* 12*s.* 6*d.*). Some of its titles recall the fairy tales that harrowed our childhood: "The Lucifer Match Girl", "The Crippled Street Bird-Seller", "The Wallflower Girl" and "The Blind Boot-lace Seller"; others strike a merrier note: "The Grease-Removing Composition Sellers", "The Baked Potato Man" and "Doctor Bokanky, the Street Herbalist", with "The Book Auctioneer" and his treasures as this reader's first favourite—Mayhew recorded that "1,375,920 volumes were sold annually at an average price of 9d." Statistics of profit and loss, of wealth and dire poverty are set out in astonishing, because unexpected, detail. The illustrations are all contemporary prints and

add to the fascination that all such books hold for the Cockney who, sniffing the air of dirty old London streets, finds it fragrant.——And to a fellow-Paddingtonian Sir Harold Bellman's CORNISH COCKNEY (*Hutchinson.* 15*s.*) is not only the autobiography of the "local boy who made good" but the continuation of this awareness of London life.

Harold Bellman as the bright young man of "Fernhead Road Wesleyan" rather overshadowed the childhood of this reader; what he said in Sunday School or at "Pleasant Sunday Afternoons" was quoted by school friends on Monday, and when his name became associated with the higher circles of the Abbey Road Building Society his example was held up for the edification of careless adolescence. To read his own version of this tale of success after years of second-hand reports is a curious experience. Most important, it kills the ancient suspicion that he was or is a prig; he is now seen plainly as an authority on housing and economic problems and as a traveller with an informed and critical mind, not unaware of his achievement in social and business eminence but with a sense of fun unimpaired and mind and spirit still informed by an essentially "humble and contrite heart" as part of a happy life.

A father to his son

Another happy man, secure in the complete confidence of wife and children, and appointed abroad, wrote LETTERS FROM A CIVIL SERVANT TO HIS SON (*Frederick Muller.* 8*s.* 6*d.*). These were found among the boy's papers after his death in action and are now published with the anonymity of the writer preserved. They cover poetry, books, music, criticism, religion, sex, politics, careers and wars with a frankness that must still be rare in the relationships of fathers and sons. So close is the companionship that the reader often feels an intruder, though at times there is a sense of kinship, as for instance when the boy's mother dies and the heartache is shared so intensely that the book has to be put away for a space. With such a father as shines from these pages it is safe to say that the son's brief life must have been poised, serene and amply blessed.

Highways and byways

Bad management has left too little space for the excellences of THE ENGLISHMAN'S HOLIDAY by J. A. R. Pimlott (*Faber & Faber.* 16*s.*) and Joseph Braddock's KENT-SUSSEX BORDER FOOTPATHS (*Chaterson.* 8*s.* 6*d.*). The one is a history of holidays: Elizabethan days in Bath, the Grand Tour, new watering-places made accessible by the railways, some playgrounds of Europe, the pre-war cruise and the latter-day holiday camp. The illustrations are profuse, full of enlightenment and good humour, and the appendices and index packed with information that every holiday-maker would like to know. While conceding that one's own meat may well be another's poison, the organized holiday provided by Mr. Butlin still seems to be altogether too depressing a sign of this generation's inability to amuse itself.

"Far from the madding crowd", depicted with the caption: 'Start of an organized hike, led by a Red Coat', we may flee to Mr. Braddock's footpaths. Here on the borders of Sussex and Kent, as J. H. B. Peel says in an editorial foreword, "is the sort of landscape that we mean when we use the word *pastoral*"; nothing in fact like Filey Camp. There is Ashdown Forest, there are the oast houses around Goudhurst, there is Withyham, Penshurst, Appledore, Wadhurst (where the author lives), Burwash and Tenterden and there are boats on the Rother and a lighthouse at Dungeness. The many photographs convey that cherished atmosphere of being alone which has nothing to do with loneliness. Though practical data is included this is no ordinary guide book. And why? It is written by a poet.

GRACE BANYARD.

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